# TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

# Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society

FOR

# 1903.

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Edited by Rev. C. S. TAYLOR, M.A., F.S.A.

VOL. XXVI.

BRISTOL:
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY BY J. W. ARROWSMITH, QUAY STREET.

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# Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society.

## PROCEEDINGS

### At the Annual Spring Meeting,

### At Malmesbury and Sherston,

*Monday, May 25th, 1903.*

An excursion was made into Wiltshire to visit the famous Abbey at Malmesbury, which has been aptly described as one of the most interesting spots of archæological pilgrimage in England, and Sherston Magna, a village which possesses a fine church and an attractive local history. The weather was splendidly fine, and it rendered the forty-mile drive very enjoyable. The arrangements which the Honorary Secretary for Bristol, Mr. J. E. Pritchard, made were perfect, and this, of course, considerably enhanced the pleasure of the meeting. The popularity of the meeting was shown by the large attendance, there being about one hundred members present; and as over half of these came from Bristol, it was a sign of the awakened interest which has been shown in the Society in the city since Mr. Pritchard undertook the post of Honorary Secretary for Bristol.

In the absence of the Rev. E. R. Dowdeswell (this year's President), Mr. F. F. Fox, F.S.A., took his place, and those present included the Lord Bishop of Bristol, F.S.A., the Earl of Gainsborough (ex-President), the Rev. Canon Bazeley (Hon. General Secretary), Mr. R. L. G. Vassall (Bristol), the Rev. C. S. Taylor, F.S.A. (Hon. Editor), Mr. John E. Pritchard, F.S.A. (Hon. Secretary for Bristol), the Rev. Canon Sinclair (Cirencester), the Rev. Canon Ellacombe (Bitton), the Rev. S. E. Bartleet, F.S.A. (Dursley), the Rev. W. H. Silvester-Davies (Horsley), Mr. James McMurtrie, F.G.S., Mr. F. J. Cullis (Glou-

cester), Mr. W. MOLINE (Clifton), Mr. H. G. EDWARDS, Mr. F. WERE, Colonel W. F. N. NOEL, Mr. V. R. PERKINS, Mr. GEORGE WHITCOMBE, Mr. W. S. MOXLEY, Mr. CHARLES SCEARS, Mr. WALTER A. SAMPSON, the Rev. W. C. EMERIS, Mr. CHARLES A. PORTER, Mr. C. H. DANCEY, Mr. F. J. TARR, Mr. L. RALPH PRICE, the Venerable E. C. SCOBELL (Archdeacon of Gloucester), the Rev. H. H. WINWOOD, F.G.S. (Bath), Mr. W. ST. CLAIR BADDELEY, the Rev. G. W. TUCKER (Malmesbury), Mr. W. M. LLEWELLYN, the Rev. H. R. WILKINS, the Rev. JAMES DUMAS, Mr. EDWARD P. LITTLE, Mr. HENRY BUBB, Mr. F. STURGE, Mr. W. C. L. FLOYD, Mr. F. J. HIRST, the Rev. T. AITKIN SNEATH (Woodchester), Dr. T. M. CARTER (Clifton), the Rev. A. H. VEASEY, the Rev. Major PAULL, Mr. J. W. S. DIX, Mr. T. SHERWOOD SMITH, Mr. J. LEE OSBORN, Mr. E. T. MORGAN, Mr. C. J. JOHNSTONE, Mr. J. B. C. BURROUGHS, Mr. ARTHUR N. WATERMAN, Mr. JAMES GILCHRIST, Mr. J. J. SIMPSON, Mr. W. SEFTON CLARKE, Mr. JOHN H. GOODDEN, Mr. WALTER DERHAM, F.G.S., Mr. H. A. PROTHERO (Cheltenham), Mr. CHRISTOPHER BOWLEY (Cirencester), Mr. CHARLES BURN, Mr. JOHN TIBBITTS, Mr. H. C. M. HIRST, and a number of ladies.

The party from Bristol left by the 9.12 train from the Joint Station, and were joined by the members from Gloucester at Yate. At the latter place a couple of drags and well-appointed brakes, provided by the Bristol Carriage Company, were in readiness, and the drive to Malmesbury was commenced.

Soon after leaving Yate Station, the Parish Church was seen on the left, with its beautiful Perpendicular tower, crowned by a parapet and pinnacles, which were added about five years ago: the road then passed through Chipping Sodbury and over Sodbury Common. At the foot of the Cotswold ridge, Old Sodbury Church stands on a low hill, and about a mile to the north is Little Sodbury Manor House, where William Tyndale served as tutor to the family of Sir John Walsh in 1522.

Ascending the slope, Dodington Park was seen on the right, and on the crest of the hill our road was crossed by the Ridgeway, in its course from Bath to Gloucester. Less than a mile north of the "Cross Hands" Inn is

Sodbury Camp, a rectangular area of about twelve acres, which was seen on the return journey.

On May 1st, 1471, Edward IV. lay with his army at Malmesbury, and Queen Margaret was at Bristol. The Lancastrians sent a small detachment to occupy Sodbury Camp, and on May 2nd the King marched thither expecting an engagement. On May 3rd the Lancastrians marched by Berkeley and Gloucester to Tewkesbury, and the King marched from Sodbury to beyond Cheltenham; and on the following day the battle of Tewkesbury was fought.

The road lay to the south of Badminton, but it ran for more than a mile through the park, and shortly before leaving the park the east side of the house was seen. It was built, towards the end of the seventeenth century, to take the place of Raglan Castle, spoiled during the Civil War.

On passing out of the park we entered Wiltshire, and soon afterwards passed the Tower of Luckington Church. The little stream is one of the head waters of the Bristol Avon; we followed it till we reached Sherston, about fourteen miles from Yate.

Just beyond Easton Grey Wood the Fosse Road crossed our path; though its course is almost continuous from Dorset to the Humber, it is here only a green lane. About half a mile to the south, where it crosses the Avon, is the supposed site of the Station of White-Walls.

At the Fosse Road there was a slight halt while Mr. J. E. PRITCHARD gave a few particulars respecting the famous track. He said it entered Gloucestershire near Moreton-in-the-Marsh, and crossed the point where they had stopped, continuing its way to Bath and the South of England. Its origin was doubtful, some thinking it was of British construction, and others of Roman time.

Mr. JAMES MCMURTRIE, who was requested to make some remarks, said he had the advantage of investigating that part of the Fosse in the neighbourhood of Road a few years ago, when he cut through an extension of that road to the south of Bath, where for about a mile of its course it was in a perfect condition, very much as the Romans had left it. He cut through the road crosswise first for the Bath Field Club, and found layer on layer much as the description of Roman roads by Vitruvius would lead them to expect. A few years later he re-opened the cutting for the Somerset Archæological Society, and he found a little more than he discovered on the former occasion. He saw the tracks of the Roman chariot wheels, and on removing the top layer there was a second discerned—a road below the other. In the Bath Museum now there were examples of the road as he found them.

In less than three miles from the Fosse we reached Malmesbury, about twenty miles from Yate. It will be noticed that as St. Aldhelm died at

Doulting in Somerset on May 25th, 709, our visit to Malmesbury fell on the anniversary of his death.

The LORD BISHOP OF BRISTOL most kindly contributed the following account of the town and Abbey to the programme :—

The physical features of Malmesbury justify the tradition that the Britons of the south-west had here their northern stronghold. Its position is singularly like that of the Castle Hill of Bristol, itself, without a doubt, a British stronghold. In each case the river Avon protects a considerable portion of the prominence, and in each case a supplementary water, the Newnton brook at Malmesbury and the Frome at Bristol, completes the protection of the site, leaving a narrow neck or ridge between the encircling waters, and giving to the site the shape of a bulbous pear. In days of bows and arrows and javelins, when the slow streams pushed their waters slowly through the morasses, choked with sedge and fallen trees, Malmesbury must have been safe against all ordinary attack. The strength of the position is well seen when the train from Somerford to Malmesbury emerges from the tunnel and draws up at the station. The water which guards the site on this side is the Newnton brook. The narrowness of the neck or ridge is well seen as we walk up from the railway station, and come in sight of the west front of the Abbey Church. Looking down to the left, we have the ground falling steeply to the Newnton brook, while on the right it falls still more steeply to the level of the Avon. If we turn to the right before reaching the Abbey, and skirt the edge of the town, we notice the striking steepness at the King's Walk; descend sharply to the Avon at St. John's Hospital, turn to the left and reach the bridge over the Newnton brook, with its interesting circular tower, admire the strength of the natural defences under which the Priests' Walk winds; and, keeping still to the left, pass up by the very striking entrance called the Hollow Way, and so complete our circuit by coming again to the Abbey precincts.

It will be noticed that the houses of Malmesbury are strictly included within the natural boundaries of the place, anything which lies outside being modern. This is one of the most interesting facts of the ancient borough. It is due to the conditions of King Athelstane's famous gift of a large area of common land to Malmesbury. The men of the place had given signal help to the King at a crisis of one of his battles, when he called on Saint Aldhelm for aid. In return, he gave them a considerable estate towards Norton and Foxley, and a charter still in force. The conditions are, that the commoners shall live within the walls of the town, and that a man can only become a commoner in right of being the son of a commoner, or in right of marriage with a commoner's daughter. Hence the town has not spread out into the country. Athelstane's conditions have had another effect: they have naturally preserved the type of the commoners singularly unchanged for a thousand years. The present

writer, on one occasion, was speaking at the old council chamber on this subject, and informed his audience that Malmesbury came second only to Devizes in the retention of the round skull of the British builders of Stonehenge. The senior warden of the said corporation drily remarked that

MALMESBURY ABBEY, NORTH SIDE.

"they didn't know about the shape of their heads, but they reckoned to have as much inside 'em as most folk."

King Athelstane is still a very living personage at Malmesbury. The commoners still dine with King Athelstane once in each year. An old commoner, who was bed-ridden, was advised by the Vicar that he would be much better cared for in "the house." The receipt of poor's money terminates the common-right. The old man painfully raised himself in bed, and said solemnly: "King Arthelstane hath kept I all my life; King Arthelstane shall keep I till I die."

An Irish teacher and recluse, Maeldubh (the dark-tonsured monk) by name, settled here about the year 640, probably coming from Lismore a year or two after its foundation by St. Cartach, on his expulsion from the great house which he had created at Rahan. He built a small basilica, remains of which existed in the time of one of Malmesbury's most famous men (William), the founder of modern history, about the years 1120 to 1140. When the West Saxons at last got possession of the British strong-

hold, after the battles of 652 and 658, the West Saxon king sent his young cousin Aldhelm to study under Maeldubh, and about 670 Aldhelm succeeded his old master as the head of the school. In 676 he and his company of monks were incorporated as an Abbey, and Aldhelm was made Abbot. He built the great Saxon basilica of St. Mary, afterwards re-dedicated to Aldhelm's name, which lasted safe and sound till William's time. It is a question whether the replacing of this famous Saxon basilica by a Norman building had begun in William's time; if it had it was a sore subject, and he makes no reference to it. He died as late as 1143, and it is certain that the present Norman church was begun, at latest, soon after that.

The nave, which alone now remains, consisted of nine bays, with a singularly splendid south porch. The west front presented the appearance of a noble centre and west door, flanked by two square towers, enriched with surface arcading. They were, in fact, not square towers: seen from the south or the north, they were not square, but rectangular. The

MALMESBURY ABBEY, SOUTH-EAST, SHOWING RUINS OF SOUTH TRANSEPT.

Norman arches of the nave, transepts, and chancel were magnificent examples of lofty round arches; two of them still remain. Ruin has befallen all the rest of the great church, except a part of the west face of the south transept.

At the Reformation, Cranmer issued a document authorising the use of the nave of the Abbey Church, as the Parish Church of Malmesbury, in place of the Church of St. Paul, or St. Peter and St. Paul, then in ruins except the tower, which still stands. The central tower and spire of the Abbey Church, higher than Salisbury, had fallen before that time, as had also a western tower, an ill-built addition of the fifteenth century. A further catastrophe destroyed the northern half of the west front, and completed the ruins of the three western bays, in the time of Charles II. From that time till the end of the nineteenth century, the state of the fabric has caused growing anxiety, especially from the certainty that if another catastrophe came, the great south porch must be ruined, an irreparable loss.

The last three years have seen the fabric made sound throughout. The roofs of the aisles have been stripped and relaid; the flying buttresses taken down one by one, and built again with the old stones, a process revealing the mere thread by which some of them were held together; the compensating pinnacles have been completely repaired; the gutters put in order; and the drainage for the first time made effective. The treatment of the ruined bays at the west of the nave presented difficult problems. It was necessary to introduce heavy buttresses, but any buttresses of an ordinary character would have been ugly and expensive, and must have been removed again if at any time the county rebuilt the ruined bays. It was determined that all the money spent upon the west end should be to the good, if the bays were ever rebuilt; and on that principle it was determined to effect the buttressing in the most complete manner, by building the perished piers and half-arches of the south aisle and arcade, and thus supporting the thrust of the unsupported and overhanging masses of ruin at the south-west corner of the present church. Extreme care has been taken to leave the new work without mouldings, to alter the cuspings of the parapets, and in all ways to render it impossible that the new work shall ever be thought to be part of the original work. The whole has been managed with great skill by the architect, Mr. Brakspear, and at the very moderate cost of £5,000, of which about £1,000 has still to be raised.

Mr. H. BRAKSPEAR, F.S.A., very kindly wrote for the programme the following account of the Abbey Buildings:—

At Domesday the Abbey of Malmesbury had many possessions, and was one of the richest monasteries under the jurisdiction of the See of Sarum. Through some mistake in reading the old historian, William of Malmesbury, Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, is accredited with commencing the present church. He was a prelate much favoured by the King, but instead of building any church at Malmesbury, he erected a castle there to keep the monks in subjection, after which he confiscated all their revenues to his own use.

It was not till after his death, in 1143, and the restitution of the monks' rights in consequence, that we must look for the first indication of the building of the present structure. It seems to have been commenced, as usual in mediæval days, by building the eastern portion first, with the

MALMESBURY ABBEY, NORTH DOORWAY.

aisle wall next the cloister, after that, the nave, south porch, and west end would follow in quick succession.

From the account of William of Worcester, who visited the Abbey in the fifteenth century, we learn the length of this church was approximately 279 ft. from east to west.

The present remains are merely a small fragment of this great church, and comprise the six eastern bays of the nave, with the west and north arches of the central tower, the south porch, and the ruins of parts of the west end and south transept.

The nave has the main walls divided into three stories: (1) the lowest, containing the great arcade arches, which are pointed and moulded, have curious carved grotesques at the apex and terminals of the labels, and are supported on large cylindrical columns with escallop capitals;

MALMESBURY ABBEY, SOUTH PORCH.

(2) the triforium, consists of large depressed, semi-circular arches, enclosing four small arches on small round columns; and (3) the clerestory had originally large round-headed windows, one in each bay,

divided externally by pilaster buttresses, and surrounded by a series of round ornamental plaques. The nave was covered in the first place with a flat ceiling. The aisles are vaulted in stone, and have small round-headed windows, one in each bay, with wall arcades of four arches beneath internally, and interlacing arches externally, divided by pilaster buttresses. In the eastern bay on the north side are the remains of the eastern procession door to the cloister.

The south porch is one of the finest in England.

The outer arch consists of eight richly-carved orders, three of which are divided into panels containing subjects of Bible history in the arch, and the Vices, Virtues, and Seasons in the jambs. Inside, on either hand, are wall arcades resting on stone seats, and above in semi-circular panels are sculptured the twelve Apostles seated, six a-side, with a flying angel bearing a scroll over their heads.

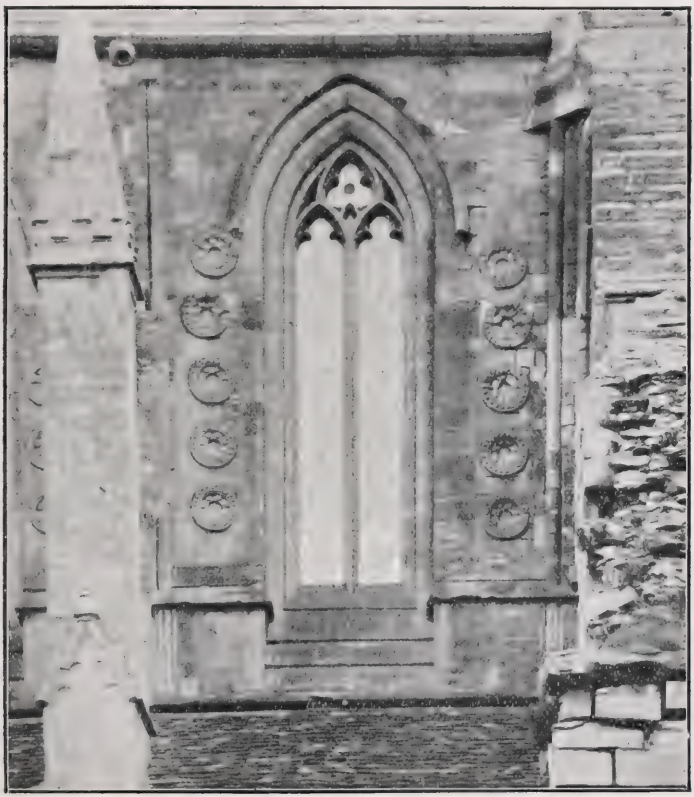
The inner doorway to the church is as richly carved as the outer arch, but of only three members. The head is filled with a tympanum, on which is carved Our Lord in Glory, supported on either side by a censing angel.

The fragmentary remains which exist of the west end show it to have have been in the form of a screen, richly panelled, somewhat in the manner afterwards followed at Salisbury.

The Norman centre tower was originally an open lantern, carried on four semi-circular arches, of which those on the north and south were very stilted in form. From the fragments of the transept and presbytery, adjoining the north-east pier, these portions of the church seem to have been much of the same character as the nave.

The first alterations to the original church were commenced in the fourteenth century, and would probably begin at the east end and continue westward. The alterations of this date to the nave consisted in remodelling the clerestory by the insertion of a traceried window of three lights in each bay, except in the eastern bay where there are only two lights; apparently to give extra abutment to the central tower, and the substitution of the beautiful lierne vaulting, which still remains, in place of the old flat ceiling. To retain the outward thrust of the vault, it was necessary to construct the heavy flying buttresses and pinnacles over the side aisles. The first three bays from the crossing were merely remodelled, but the rest westward were entirely rebuilt. On the north side in the aisle a large window of the same period was inserted to light one of the flanking chapels of the nave altar, and in the south aisle were inserted two windows of remarkable design to light the retro-choir. The south porch was entirely recased externally, but for what purpose it is difficult to say, as at present the walls are no less than 10 ft. in thickness. The crossing under the central tower was vaulted at the same time.

Shortly after these works were completed, a tower at the west end was commenced. This was supported on the side and west walls, and over the vaulting on a wide arch. The thrust of this latter was carried by a series of flying buttresses built above the earlier ones that maintained the vault of the nave. A portion of one of these still remains on the south side. In addition, the third bay from the west was strengthened by the



MALMESBURY ABBEY, EASTERNMOST CLERESTORY WINDOW, SOUTH SIDE.

insertion of a strong arch in the first story, and a flying arch across the triforium and clerestory. The west wall was pierced by a large traceried window above the original doorway. This tower was standing in 1540, but must have fallen soon after, bringing with it the three western bays of the nave, excepting the fragment of the south-west angle now remaining.

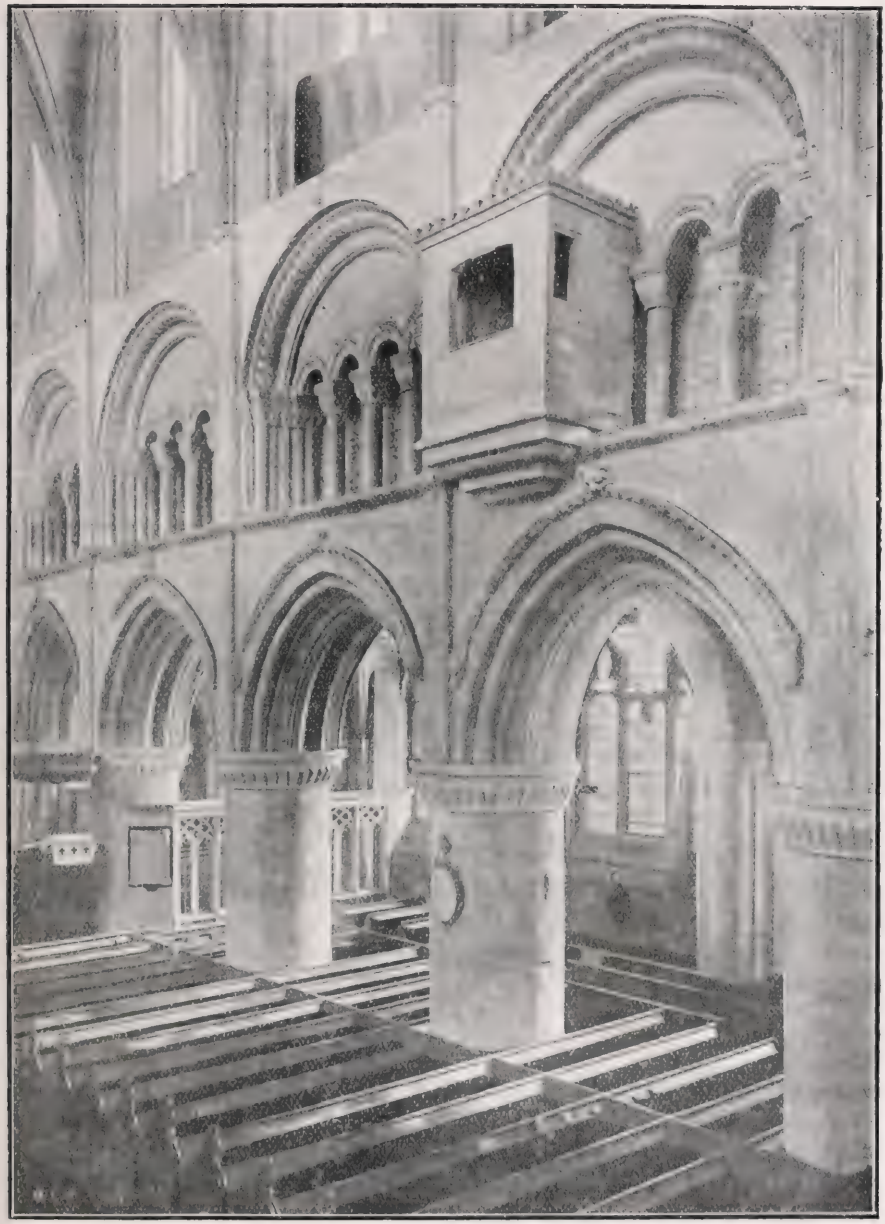
The fine effigy of a king on a simple altar-tomb, now placed in the first arch on the south side, is of early fifteenth-century date, and is said by tradition to represent King Athelstan, a great benefactor to Malmesbury. It probably took the place of an earlier memorial, which was considered by the fifteenth-century folk not sufficiently sumptuous for so great a man.

Of the internal arrangements, the eastern bay was occupied by the *pulpitum*, a gallery from which the epistle and gospel were sung on holy days, which was supported on two stone screens. The eastern one remains, and forms the present reredos. It is of the time of Henry VIII., and bears an interesting series of Tudor badges and a fine coat of the royal arms in the centre over the choir door. The front or western screen has been destroyed across the centre of the nave, but exists in either aisle. It was of handsome, open-work tracery, with a doorway in the centre of the nave, and one in either aisle. At the third pair of pillars was the rood screen, with the nave altar in front, and in the aisle on either side a small chapel. In the triforium on the south side is a curious inserted stone box of late fourteenth-century date that has always been a great puzzle. It was probably made to contain a pair of organs for the nave altar service.

Of the central tower only a portion is left; it had a high spire, which was described by Leland "to have fallen within the memory of man"; but as there was no indication of the monks ever having occupied the present nave as their choir, as they would necessarily have been compelled to do if the tower had fallen and destroyed their proper choir, it was only natural to suppose that Leland referred to the spire, which was probably constructed of wood and lead, and did little damage to the fabric by its fall. In 1660 the four pillars and arches were standing as complete as those remaining on the west and north sides, and are so shown on a drawing made for the first edition of the *Monasticon*. Aubrey tells us: "When the great rejoicing was on the King's birthday, 1660, for the return of King Charles II., here were so many and so great vollies of shot, by the inhabitants of the Hundred, that the noise so shook the pillars of the tower, that one pillar and the two parts above fell down that night."

The monastic buildings in connection with the church have all been swept away. The cloisters appear to have been stone-vaulted in the fifteenth century, when the eastern procession door was lessened, and the pretty piece of fan vaulting inserted over the newer arch in the thickness of the wall.

Mr. F. WERE wrote the following heraldic notes for the programme:— The most interesting branch of heraldry in the Abbey is the line of badges and supporters of the Tudor kings on the old chancel screen, which, together with the shield of Royal Arms probably Henry VIII., the supporters being defaced, are at the east end; they consist mainly of dragons, hounds, roses, portcullis, etc., but amongst them is to be found



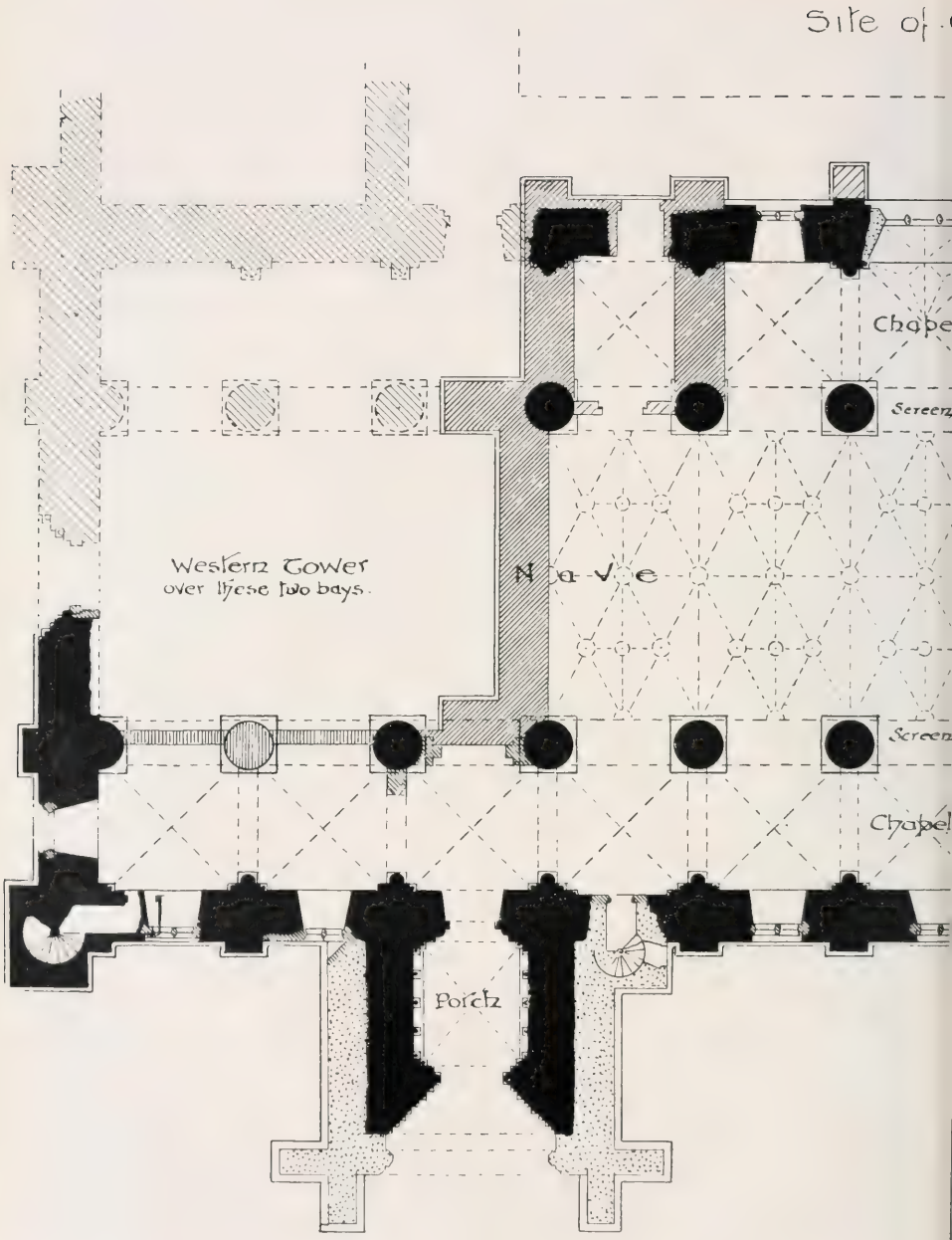
MALMESBURY ABBEY, INTERIOR, SOUTH SIDE.

the white hart of an earlier date and the pomegranate of a later. Against the N.E. pillar, by the pulpit, is a monument to Mrs. Anne Warneford, bordered with eleven shields, in the middle, at the top, Stumpe (second husband), impaling Godwyn (her maiden name). On the dexter side: (1) Crane (first husband) and Godwyn; (2) Knyvet and Stumpe; (3) Howard, ensigned with coronet; (4) Clinton, ensigned with coronet, and Knyvet: (5) Manners, ensigned with coronet and Knyvet. On the sinister side: (1) Warneford (third husband), impaling Godwyn; (2) Hervey and Crane; (3) Poulett, with bordure engrailed, and Stumpe; (4) Buttry and Stumpe; (5) Plomer and Stumpe. These shields seem to be worth retincturing. On Willis' monument, a little to the west of the last, is a shield with "(?) Gules, 3 pheons, 2 and 1 sable": this is false, and has the appearance of having been daubed. On the N.W. pillar is a shield to Hancock, with curious charges, more like parts of machinery, and has the helmet wreath and the same charge on the chief: this, I imagine, should be "A chevron between three cocks," and one of the same for a crest. Above the King Athelstan effigy is a shield to Mrs. George, of Steeple Ashton, which reads now as "Sable a chevron inverted or"; as the chevron is in relief and the shield does not look as if it had been turned upside down, it is difficult to name. At the back of the effigy is an achievement bearing Lovell and Harvey quarterly, and impaling what should be Willes if the mullets were gules; and on mural tablets, Lovel, Harvey, and Pugh. In S.E. window, "Azure a chevron ermine between three mascles, and a fleur-de-lis in chief argent"; this is a variation, as the mascles are generally lozenges, each charged with a fleur-de-lis, for Miles; adjoining is Hill. The brass to Spencer, in the N. aisle, should read, "Barry of six or and azure a canton ermine."

### HERALDRY OF THE SCREEN OR REREDOS.

THE ROYAL ARMS have generally been stated to be those of Henry VII., but I feel certain they are of Henry VIII. or his time, this is proved by the Supporters; unfortunately these have been terribly mutilated, but sufficient remains to prove that the dexter was the hound and the sinister the dragon (the last being more like a griffin with lion-like feet), since Henry VII. bore the dragon as the dexter and the hound as the sinister; it was of course early in the reign of Henry VIII. that this change was made, as he soon afterwards bore the dexter a lion rampant and the sinister the red dragon; and it would seem to have no other meaning except this change of reign, unless it was a great mistake on the part of the sculptor.

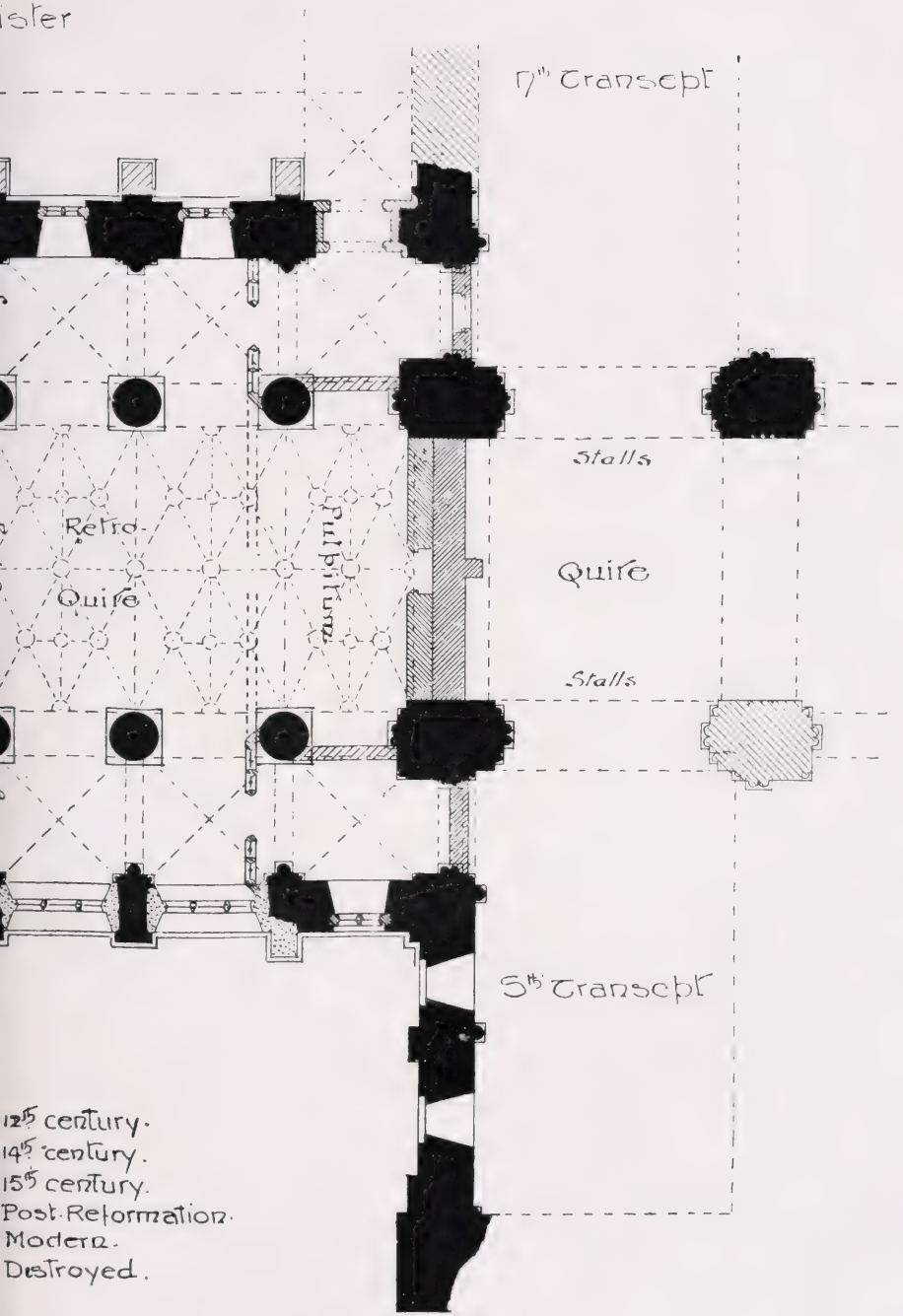
THE BADGES. *The Dragons* are, as in the Arms, much more griffin-like, and would be applicable to both reigns. *The Hounds* are more talbot-like than the usual York Badge and Supporter, the greyhound. *The Portcullis*




# MALMESBVRY · ABBEY ·

Plate II.

Scale 5 10 20




HAROLD BRAKSPEAR, F.S.A.
MENS ET DELT.

chained, very often ensigned with a crown or rose, the Tudor King's especial badge, and so suitable to both reigns. *A Stag* or Antelope, Supporters of Edward IV. or Henry VI.; also what looked like a deer without attires, most probably the white hart of Edward IV. *A Pomegranate.* This came in with Katherine of Arragon, who bore the Grenada pomegranate on an escutcheon of pretence; this would be applicable to Prince Arthur and Henry VIII.

All the former are connected with Royalty, but there are two more belonging to the Nobility: one, the Stafford Knot, which would apply to Henry, ob., 1483 or Edward, ob., 1521, both Dukes of Buckingham, so that it belongs to both reigns; the other, a Rudder, Lord Willoughby de Broke's, but as he was connected with Henry, Duke of Buckingham, this would belong to the reign of Henry VII.

In the St. John's Guild Hall is a Royal Achievement, dated 1693, which originally bore William and Mary's proper coat, with the escutcheon of pretence for Nassau; this seems next to have been altered to Queen Anne, and finished up with the escutcheon of pretence being charged with the white horse of Hanover, when it was initialled I R. On the dexter side is a shield bearing "Argent a chevron gules between three trefoils sable pierced of the field"; and with a crest, a demi-lion rampant gules. On the sinister side: "Gules 3 escallops, 2 and 1 within bordure engrailed argent," with crest, a lion's head erased or pierced through the neck with a broken spear argent, for Earle. On the Master's chair, the arms of the seal of the town of Malmesbury, which are also on an old house to the south of the town. Jackson gives King Edmund the three crowns: Malmesbury Abbey, "Gules two lions passant gardant in pale or, on a chief azure a mitre with two labels between two croziers or," and the coat of Abbot Selwyn, viz. "The Abbey impaling Selwyn"; but I failed to see these.

The town of Malmesbury was reached about half-past twelve, and luncheon was partaken of at the King's Arms Hotel. To some of the members it was a first visit to the interesting old town, though the Society held a meeting there in 1891, and spent a pleasant day in examining the many places there.

After luncheon the party inspected the Abbey, under the direction of the Lord Bishop of Bristol and Mr. Brakspear, the architect.

The LORD BISHOP said, first, he should like to say that as so many of them came from another county into Wilts, from the first Malmesbury was as much supported by Gloucestershire as it was by Wiltshire. In fact, all the earliest donations of lands to that Abbey were made by the Mercian King and Princes, and not from the Wessex King and Princes. Later on, in the time of Aldhelm, the two Kings of Mercia and Wessex met, and decided first of all that Malmesbury Abbey was an exceedingly important

place, and, as it was very near the borders of the two kingdoms, and might be pillaged by either party in time of war, they therefore made a pact that the Abbey and its precincts should be regarded as beyond the reach of pillage of all kinds. He thought that was, so far as he knew, an unique fact in history. It was arranged by Aldhelm, who was the main pioneer of the monastic work, and succeeded Maeldubh, an Irish monk. It was a very great question as to when the work there was begun. As far as they could tell, Aldhelm's great church stood for a considerable time after the Norman Conquest, for it and Sherborne were the two great churches that the Norman architects spared. He had a very strong conviction that the work had not begun when William of Malmesbury died, in 1143. He was very much devoted to the old work, and he did not say one syllable about any new work going on. He felt sure that if it had been proposed in his time to pull down Aldhelm's church they would have had expressions of grief from him in his very full account of the monastery. It was, however, quite possible that some new work was begun in his time. They believed that everything they saw was certainly later than the year 1143, when William of Malmesbury died. The present state was an example of the great risk of trying to do too much building. The ruin which they saw on the eastern side was due to the fact that the monks were determined to put on the central tower a spire that it could not bear. The spire fell, and did considerable damage, and then it was that the present screen was put up, probably in the time of Henry VII. The ruin which they saw at the west end was entirely due to the ambition of the monks, who determined to build a big west tower, which fell with a great fall, and did much damage. They had not attempted to carry up the western tower as it originally was, but they had taken it up a few feet, in order to give headway for the use of the excellent staircase that was there, and the view from the top was superb. In conclusion, his lordship said he was against the putting in of a window at the east end, and he hoped that his successors would be of the same mind.

Mr. BRAKSPEAR then described the architectural features of the Abbey, and expressed the opinion that it was not the western tower which fell, but the spire, which, though it destroyed several parts of the buttresses, did not do a great deal of structural damage.

The members had another look round, and many spent their time in inspecting the magnificent south porch, which is one of the finest in England. Votes of thanks having been accorded to the speakers, the drive was continued to Great Sherston.

We first hear of Sherston in 896, when, at a gemot held at Gloucester by Ethelred, Ealdorman of the Mercians, Werferth, Bishop of Worcester, complained that certain woodland at Woodchester, which had been given to the See by King Ethelbald about one hundred and fifty years before,

had been alienated to Bisley, Avening, Sherstone (Scorranstane), and Thornbury. The Witan ordered that the land should be restored to the See.

It next appears as the site of a battle between Cnut and Edmund Ironside on a Monday and Tuesday after Midsummer—probably June 25th and 26th, 1016. With Edmund were the men of Devon, Dorset, and Wilts, west of Selwood. With Cnut fought the men of Hants, Wilts, east of Selwood, and also those who were under the command of Ælfmær Darling, and Ælfgar, the son of Meaw, father of Brihtric of Tewkesbury. The fighting was indecisive, but on Tuesday night Cnut departed to besiege London. The lines of entrenchment still exist, and the church seems to

THE RATTLEBONE FIGURE.

be built upon them. It would seem from the account of the battle given by Florence of Worcester that the host of Edmund was the attacking side.

Sherston is still dominated by the memory of a local hero, John Rattlebone, who is said to have performed prodigies of valour in the

course of the action, and, though wounded early in the engagement, to have succeeded in killing "a skillin-full of Danes." One of the principal inns in the place is still called the "Rattlebone Inn," and an ancient stone effigy on the Church porch is ascribed by local tradition to the hero, and called the Rattlebone figure. Aubrey says that in his time (*c.* 1657) the Sherston women and children had these verses by tradition :—

Fight well, Rattlebone,
Thou shalt have Sherstone.
What shall I with Sherstone doe,
Without I have all belongs thereto?
Thou shalt have Wyck and Willesly
Easton towne and Pinkeney.[1]

The tradition about the figure is that the right arm, which is lost, brandished a sword, and that the left hand is applying a tile stone to a wound. It is certainly very ancient, and probably stood originally in a niche over a Norman or Saxon doorway. When the present porch was built (*c.* 1460) it was set up on a stone bracket on the east side of it, and was evidently much treasured, as it was preserved at that destructive period. There can be little doubt that the figure is that of an ecclesiastic, that the right hand was raised in the act of benediction, and that the left hand is holding a book.

The church is dedicated in the name of the Holy Cross. As the Christian soldiers of St. Olaf in Norway called themselves Cross-men, and the battle-cry of the English at Hastings was "Holy Cross," and as, moreover, William of Malmesbury tells us that Cnut built churches in all places where he had fought, it is quite possible that the church is one of Cnut's battle churches, and that it still preserves the cry of battle in its title. At any rate, the church existed in the time of Edward the Confessor, and it was held in the Conqueror's time by his chaplain Guntard, who, on becoming a monk in the Abbey of St. Wandragesil at Fontenelle in the Diocese of Rouen, induced the King to grant the church of Sherston, with other churches which he held, to that Abbey. The grant was confirmed by Popes Innocent II. (1130–1143) and Eugenius III. (1145–1153), and also by Roger (1107–1139) and Jocelin (1141–1184), Bishops of Sarum.

Rainald, Abbot of Fontenelle (1194–1207) granted to the Cathedral of Sarum the churches of Sherston and Whitchurch, near Bridport, and also some property at Wilsford, and in consideration of the gift he and his successors were admitted to the Chapter of the Cathedral as Prebendaries of Upavon, the purpose being, no doubt, to strengthen the position of the foreign house in dealing with its property in England. The Abbots retained their Prebend in the Cathedral until the dissolution of the alien priories.

[1] These are hamlets belonging to the parish.

The advowson of the Rectory was vested in the Crown from *c.* 1240 to 1340, when it was granted to Hugh le Despencer, following a previous grant of the Manor. On the marriage of Isabella le Despencer (*c.* 1422) it passed to the Beauchamps. Isabella's son, Henry (Beauchamp), Duke of Warwick, left it by will in 1446 to Tewkesbury Abbey, a bequest which took effect some years later on his mother's death. Subsequently the Abbey obtained the whole endowment of the Rectory, and retained it till

SHERSTON CHURCH

the dissolution in 1539. In 1541 it was granted, as an endowment, to the new Chapter of Gloucester. The Dean and Chapter are still patrons of the Vicarage.

The old rectory house still stands. An entrance doorway of the fifteenth century has good deep mouldings, and terminals containing Tudor roses. In the apex of the hood-moulding is a very curious boss of mysterious design. The old oak door has a good iron lock-plate with fleur-de-lys cresting. This door opens on to the original hall, which measures 33 ft. 6 ins. in length by 24 ft. in breadth, and 14 ft. 6 ins. to the wall-plate, 29 ft. to the apex of the roof. The roof is good, in three tiers, with arched wind-braces.

Sherston was a borough with a municipal corporation of some kind until deprived of its charter in 1835. There was anciently a weekly

market on Fridays until the burning of the High Street (*c.* 1511). Three ancient town crosses marked the limits of the borough. The base of one of these, which formerly stood at the Tolsey in the Market Place, is now in the Vicarage garden, to which it was removed about sixty years ago. Fairs were held at the two Feasts of the Holy Cross, and the great May Fair lingered until recent times.

Nothing now remains of the Church of Guntard, mentioned in Domesday Book (1080–6) as belonging to the Abbey of St. Vandrelle in Normandy, unless it may be the Rattlebone figure; but the existence of the earlier church probably influenced the plan of the present building. There is a nave of four bays; a small chancel under a central tower; a longer chancel east of the tower: a north transept, communicating with the chancel by a skew passage; a north aisle, opening to the nave by four arches, and to the north transept by an arch of wide span, so that the transept forms a kind of chancel to the aisle; a south chapel, or perhaps a series of small chapels opening by one arch to the chancel, by one arch to the tower space, and by one arch to the eastern part of the nave; and a porch, with a parvise over it. The nave is Norman, and retains its late Norman arcade (*c.* 1160) of four semi-circular arches on the north side, and one Norman arch on the south side. The church underwent a great remodelling *c.* 1230-40. The two chancels, the north transept, and the north aisle belong to this period, and the work is very good of its kind. The arches under the central tower are singularly beautiful and of the purest style of Early English architecture.

The corbel-heads should be specially noticed: (1) *W. arch*, S. a king, (2) N. a queen; (3) *S. arch*, E. a man's head with cap of dignity, ear-flaps fastened with taces under the chin, the fringe and beard curled; (4) W. a man's head, the fringe straight, a fillet of roses (perhaps a badge of office?) round the head; (5) *N. arch*, W. a widow with veil brought above the chin, her hair brought up straight from the head, E. modern; *E. arch*, both modern.

The central tower was probably originally a lantern. This may account for the absence of vaulting. The space under it is dark now, and before the insertion of the large S. windows of the chapel would have been intolerably so.

The chancel has east window of triple lights with trefoil heads; the arches, both outside and inside, are richly moulded, following the same line, and are carried on shafts with moulded caps and bases. A settlement has effected the shape and size of the S. light.

In the north wall of the chancel a low door under the Estcourt tablet formerly led to a sacristy: this and a lancet window similar to the existing window further west, were removed in 1876 on the rebuilding of part of this wall. A processional passage from the chancel to the north transept

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

CORBEL HEADS, SHERSTON CHURCH.

was formed, late in the fifteenth century, by the insertion of a plain segmental arch, which supports the part of the wall next the tower, and by inserting smaller arches of similar shape in the east wall of the north transept, and by building a wall skew-wise across the angle at the junction of chancel and transept. This angle wall contains a two-light square-headed window.

The north transept contains three Early English windows which illustrate the progress of the style. The large triplet under the north gable is a typical group of pure Early English design. The window on the west side has two lights grouped together internally under a common arch, which was the first step towards the formation of the idea of a traceried window. The east window (now hidden by the organ) brings us very much nearer the idea of tracery. Its three delicately-trefoiled lights not only have a common arch over them, with an internal canopy consisting of a cinque-foiled arch, but have the interstices worked on the inside and hollowed. These interstices only required to have been pierced to form a traceried window. On the cinque-foils of the inner arch are faint remains of painted roundels; and on the south jamb of the window is painted the figure of a priest in eucharistic vestments, who holds in his right hand a book, and in his left some small object. Sir Stephen Glynne, writing in 1864, says: "A large portion of the wall within this transept retains good traces of ancient painting. The Virgin Mary and figures of Saints may be distinguished but the *subjects* are not very distinct."

Sir Stephen Glynne mentions an open cradle roof here, which has unfortunately given place to a mean successor. The altar formerly stood under the east window; its piscina remains, and has an Early English drain, and a Perpendicular cinque-foiled arch. There is a recessed tomb under the north window containing the recumbent effigy of a priest, with folded hands in eucharistic vestments, the stoles of which are long and thin. The features are gone. The feet rest on lions much mutilated. The recess is faced with a pedimental canopy, the gable of which is ornamented with foliage. A refined arch with bold cusping of very beautiful design is thrown across. The tomb is of early fourteenth century date.

A wide arch springing at once from the wall connects this transept with the north aisle, to which it forms a kind of chancel. On the arch are remains of good colour decoration of a pattern which occurs at Leonard Stanley Priory, and is there accompanied by the three castles, the badge of Edward II., thus dating it 1307–1327.

The north aisle of the nave is Early English. Its easternmost window has two lancet lights which are spanned by a nicely moulded inner arch carried on the jambs on corbel shafts with moulded caps and foliated terminals. Under this is a recess for a tomb of early fifteenth century work, rather awkwardly inserted (perhaps in relation to the former screen).

At the back is painted a shield of arms: *a bend cotised* (or *voided*), so far unattributed to any family.

The north doorway of this aisle has a plain trefoil arch of Early English character. West of this door is a three-light square-headed window which, with the large four-light traceried window at the west end, is of Perpendicular design. Of the west window, Aubrey says it contained in the remains of stained glass the arms of Beauchamp, of le Despencer, and of Beauchamp and Newburgh quarterly.

The south chapel, like the porch which it adjoins, is wholly Perpendicular. The eastern end is referred to in the will of the Rev. William Hegyns (1511) as "the chauncel of Seynts Quirite and Gelitte." That the present arrangement of this part of the church was not that originally intended is evident from the awkward construction of the flat roof, which cuts the beautiful south arch of the tower right across considerably below the apex. Probably a south transept existed here into which the tower arch opened.

The font in the nave is of Transitional Norman design. An octagonal bowl rests on four short cylindrical columns. "It has suffered from injudicious tooling." (C. E. P.) This octagonal shape is said to be emblematical of the "eight persons saved by water" in the ark.

The beautiful porch, with the room over it, and the chapel eastward of it, up to the then existing transept, seems to have been erected about 1460. The outer doorway of the porch is moulded with label. Over it is a two-light pointed window to light the upper room, having the peculiarity that the quatrefoil in the head between the lights is not pierced. The porch has a panelled parapet, in the centre of which is an empty niche, with groined canopy and crocketted finial. A stoup, with trefoil head, exists in the wall on the right; the bowl is cut away. The level of the porch was lowered in 1876, so that the stoup is now awkwardly high for use

The central tower was rebuilt from the level of the roofs in 1730–1733. The architect, Thomas Sumsion, of Colerne, was paid only £1 15s. for his "draught." The builder was Thomas West. The churchwardens' accounts only specify payments to the amount of £297 5s. 3½d. for the work, which seems incredible. Mr. Sumsion's design has considerable merit when we consider the miserable state of English architecture in the eighteenth century. The proportions are excellent. The lower story, of Early English character, perhaps reproduces, more or less, features of the ancient steeple, but the panels are too flat and shallow to be effective. There is a curious jumble of styles, and the fine large "Perpendicular" windows have the coarse features of eighteenth century attempts at Gothic architecture. The pierced parapet and pinnacles are effective in general outline. They are probably intended to resemble those of Gloucester Cathedral.

Attention was paid to the curious little arch at the S.E. corner of the

north transept on the outside. Mr. C. E. Ponting thinks this arch may have been turned to avoid the disturbance of an important grave when the transept was built. The stone by the vestry door, with part of an incised Early English cross, which was dug up lately in removing elders from the stone course round the walls, also attracted attention.

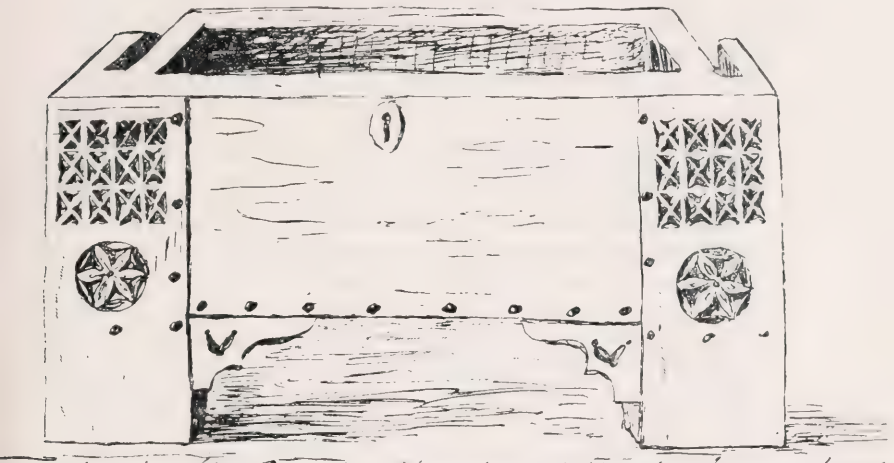
Mr. WERE stated that with regard to Heraldry at Sherston, there were in Aubrey's time, about 1660, in the W. window of N. aisle: (1) Beauchamp, (2) Despencer; (3) Beauchamp, quartering Newburgh, and with an escutcheon of pretence, Despencer. These have now disappeared. In the chancel, on S. side, is the coat of Hodges, of Shipton Moigne, with a crescent, for difference, impaling Sergeant, and below, in oval shields horizontal, Hodges and Cooke; whilst opposite is Cresswell, quartering Estcourt, with crescent for difference, and escutcheon of pretence, Warneford. In a recess in N. aisle is a defaced shield, which, I think, reads as "Sable, a bend between two cotises, either argent or or"; this might be possibly a variety of Clopton. It has also been suggested that it is Fortescue, but then the field would be azure; also that it is the fourth quarter of a similar first, but I think it is too much in the middle: I see no reason why the metal bend should not have been charged, when it might be Conway. In the eighteenth century there are several memorials to a family of the name of Weeksy, about whom I can find no record. In the churchyard, built into the vicarage house, is a stone shield, which reads, "Or a chevron engrailed between three owls an annulet for difference;" by its surroundings, as it is placed between a rebus of a plant growing out of a tun and a tree growing out of a head between a buck salient and a muzzled bear sejant, it most probably is Burton; but these generally bore a plain chevron and the owls were crowned, so that it might be Hewitt. In the old rectory are two panels filled with the arms of Hodges and Sergeant as in the church.

Sherston was reached at about three o'clock; and here the party were met at the Church of the Holy Cross by the Rev. W. Symonds This church is one of the finest in the neighbourhood, and the interesting suggestion has been made that the original edifice owed its name to its being one of Cnut's battle churches. The village was the site of an indecisive battle between Cnut and Edmund Ironside in 1016; and there is the tradition of a local hero, John Rattlebone, who is credited with performing prodigious feats of arms, and killing many Danes. One of the principal inns in the place still bears his name, while an ancient stone effigy in the church porch is called locally the Rattlebone figure.

The VICAR (the Rev. W. Symonds) welcomed the members of the party, and thanked the Rev. C. S. Taylor for his suggestion as to the name of the church, "The Holy Cross," that it was derived from the old English battle cry, which, he said, was an entirely new idea.

The Rev. Canon ELLACOMBE said he visited the church sixty years ago, and he now missed three things there. One was a piece of rood screen, then a fine window was blocked up, but the greatest loss of all was an oak chest, which he considered one of the most beautiful in England. He hoped the vicar and the churchwardens would tell them where the chest was.

The VICAR said the story was that some years ago, when the vicar was the Rev. Charles Whitcomb, someone came to him and said the British Museum wonld like to see the chest and the Rattlebone armour that was in it. These persons produced no credentials, and they were never seen



Chest in the Parvise Chamber of Sherston Magna. Wilts commonly called "Rattlebone's Chest"
a very similar chest is at Henfield - Sussex

again after they had taken the chest away. It was said that a certain family living at the time in the neighbourhood were fond of perpetrating jokes, and it was thought that they had sent these persons in order to pull the leg of the old vicar.

The Rev. Canon ELLACOMBE thought it was likely that the chest was in the neighbourhood, and he hoped it would be recovered. Canon Ellacombe afterwards very kindly sent to Mr. Pritchard particulars of his visit to the church, on April 17th, 1845, from which it appeared that there were then in the parvise three oak chests, one very large, one small, and another large oak chest, with certain ornaments, known as Rattlebone's

Chest. This last chest was 5 ft. 2 in. long, 2 ft. broad, 1 ft. 6 in. deep, with legs 1 ft. high.

The VICAR gave an admirable description of the church, and it was mentioned that there was a building there in the time of Edward the Confessor, and it was held in the Conqueror's time by his chaplain, Guntard, who induced the King to grant it, with other churches, to the Abbey of St. Vandrelle, in Normandy. Nothing remained of that original church, unless it might be the Rattlebone figure; but the existence of the earlier church probably influenced the plan of the present building. The chief architectural features of the building include a Norman nave, with its late Norman arcade; the two chancels; the north aisle and transept, which belong to the thirteenth century; and the arches under the central tower, which are of the purest style of Early English architecture. There are also five fine corbel heads. Great interest was manifested in the Rattlebone figure, and the Vicar mentioned that the Bishop of Bristol had submitted photographs of it to two of the best authorities in England, and one had said it probably was Anglo-Saxon work, while the other was of opinion that it was Early Norman.

Mr. ST. CLAIR BADDELEY remarked that he certainly did not agree that it was Anglo-Saxon work. He thought it was the figure of an archbishop, and the earliest date he should suggest was the eleventh century.

The members also inspected the old rectory, which has an entrance doorway of the fifteenth century; and afterwards drove to Wellesley House, Tetbury, where they were received by Mr. and Mrs. Lindsay, who kindly placed their grounds at the disposal of the members, and afternoon tea was generously provided here in two marquees by Captain Holford, C.V.O.

Votes of thanks having been accorded Captain Holford and Mr. and Mrs. Lindsay, the return journey was made *via* Didmarton, Cross Hands, and Old Sodbury, and the drive in the cool of the evening was delightful.

To the Lord Bishop of Bristol, the Revs. W. Symonds and C. S. Taylor, Mr. Harold Brakspear, Mr. C. E. Ponting, and Mr. F. Were, our thanks are due for valuable notes. We are much indebted to our Member, Mr. W. Moline, of Clifton, for taking numerous views at both places during unpropitious weather on two special visits; to Mr. Lavington and Mr. S. T. Hill, of Bristol, for other negatives; and to the Rev. W. Symons for the loan of several more. Mr. F. F. Fox has again, on this occasion, most kindly driven us over the route and otherwise assisted us. A very ready response was given by all whose help was asked.

# Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society.

## PROCEEDINGS

### At the Annual Summer Meeting,

### At Gloucester,

*July 14th, 15th and 16th, 1903.*

As was only natural, considering the central position of the place of meeting and the great historical interest of the county town, the meeting was one of the most largely attended of those which the Society has as yet held, for fully 140 tickets were taken by members and their friends, and it was also thoroughly successful. Among the company present at the meeting were the Mayor and Mayoress of Gloucester (Mr. and Mrs. E. Sidney Hartland), Sir Brook Kay, Bart. (Cheltenham), President of the Council of the Society; Rev. E. R. Dowdeswell (Tewkesbury), Mr. F. F. Tuckett (Frenchay), Rev. C. S. Taylor (Banwell, Somerset), Hon. Editor; Mr. Francis Were, Rev. W. Symonds (Sherston), Mr. R. Groves Morris (Gloucester), Mr. H. Knowles (Gloucester), Miss E. H. Madan (Gloucester), The Venerable E. C. Scobell, Archdeacon of Gloucester (Upton St. Leonards), Rev. Canon Bazeley (Hon. General Secretary), Miss E. K. Woodward (Gloucester), Mr. G. M. Currie (Cheltenham), Col. W. R. Routh (Cheltenham), Rev. Major Paull (Clifton), Mr. W. D. Blyth (Cheltenham), Mr. George Whitcombe (Gloucester), Mr. J. E. Pritchard (Hon. Secretary for Bristol), Mr. H. T. Bruton (Gloucester), Mr. T. S. Ellis (Gloucester), Mr. T. Sherwood Smith (Clifton), Rev. W. H. Silvester Davies (Stroud), Miss

M. M. GODFREY (Cheltenham), Mr. F. A. HYETT (Painswick), President-elect; Mr. A. E. HUDD (Clifton), Mr. A. E. SMITH, Miss W. P. SMITH (Nailsworth), Mrs. THOMPSON (Henbury), Rev. D. LEE PITCAIRN (Bath), Mr. L. M. GRIFFITHS (Clifton), Mr. F. B. DE SAUSMAREZ (Cheltenham) Mr. J. STEPHENS, Miss STEPHENS (Gloucester), Mr. P. BARRETT COOKE and Mrs. BARRETT COOKE (Gloucester), Miss E. GRAY (Cheltenham), Mr. W. MARGETSON (Stroud), Mr. C. BOWLY (Cirencester), Mr. J. G. HAWKINS (Staunton), Mr. J. TIBBITTS (Gloucester), Mr. J. MCMURTRIE (Bristol), Mr. T. S. BUSH (Bath), Rev. W. T. BLATHWAYT and Rev. W. E. BLATHWAYT (Dyrham), Miss ROPER (Bristol), Mr. J. J. SIMPSON (Bristol), Mr. W. J. STANTON (Stroud), Col. W. F. N. NOEL (London), Mr. G. B. WITTS (Leckhampton), Rev. F. A. LEFROY (Haresfield), Mr. E. P. LITTLE (Stroud), Miss A. M. WELCH (Cheltenham), Rev. D. G. LYSONS (Deerhurst), Mr. F. J. HIRST (Bristol), Mr. A. COCKSHOTT (Cheltenham), Rev. S. E. BARTLEET (Dursley), Mr. G. W. BLATHWAYT (Melksham), Mr. R. L. G. VASSALL (Bristol), Mr. J. D. BIRCHALL (Gloucester), Mr. R. HALL WARREN (Clifton), Mr. H. F. PARSONS (Clifton), Mr. H. W. BRUTON (Gloucester), Mr. J. N. BLOOD (Gloucester), Mr. V. R. PERKINS (Wotton-under-Edge), Mr. C. E. GAEL (Cheltenham), Mr. T. STURGE (Clifton), Mr. H. MEDLAND (Gloucester), Mr. F. J. CULLIS (Gloucester), Dr. T. M. MARTIN (Stroud), Col. J. C. DUKE (Cheltenham), Mr. H. A. PROTHERO (Cheltenham), Dr. T. M. CARTER (Clifton), Rev. T. A. SNEATH (Stroud), Mr. C. P. ACKERS, Mr. JAMES BRUTON (Gloucester), Rev. A. VEASEY (Kemble), Mr. J. H. COLLETT (Gloucester), Mr. W. LLEWELLEN (Bristol), Mr. F. GODFREY, jun. (Tewkesbury), Dr. OSCAR CLARK, Dr. BROWN, Mr. G. SHEFFIELD BLAKEWAY, Mr. B. V. BRUTON (Gloucester), Mr. E. C. MENEAR (Cheltenham College), Mr. C. H. DANCEY (Gloucester), and many ladies and visitors.

The admirable programme which had been drawn up by the Hon. Secretary (Canon Bazeley), and which is reproduced in its entirety, was of very great assistance in enabling members to profit by the explanations which were given

with regard to the various points of interest. Canon Bazeley wrote :—

"Gloucester, although it has been the seat of a bishopric only since the dissolution of St. Peter's Abbey in 1540,[1] can claim an antiquity second to no other city in the kingdom.

As Glevum it was occupied by the Romans early in the first century, and legendary history asserts that the British city of Caer Glowe stood on this site before the Christian Era. Commanding, as it does, the principal lode or passage over the lower Severn and the high-road to the West, Gloucester has always played an important part in civil wars, and in the frequent campaigns of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries against the Welsh.

No doubt it was this geographical position that led Edward the Confessor and the first two Williams to make Gloucester one of the three royal cities where they gathered their *witan* around them "for deep speech." At Easter the king wore his crown at Winchester, at Whitsuntide at Westminster, and at midwinter at Gloucester. The Saxon and early Norman kings had their royal palace moreover at Kingsholm, though in the Conqueror's time a castle arose on the banks of the Severn, which for many centuries was occupied by the representative of the sovereign.[2]

In later days our kings, when they honoured our city with their presence, found more comfortable quarters than Kingsholm or the castle could afford them in the abbots' lodgings : Edward II., for example, in the earlier lodgings, now the deanery, and Richard II., Henry VII., Henry VIII., and Queen Ann Boleyn in what is now the bishop's palace.

We have space here to refer only very briefly to some of the more memorable of these royal visits. Athelstan died at Gloucester in 940, but was buried at Malmesbury.[3]

Cnut and Edmund Ironsides in 1016 met at Olney,[4] an island in the Severn, for a fierce struggle ; but it ended peacefully in a division of the kingdom. Deerhurst claims to be the scene of this compact, but several of the chroniclers distinctly say it was at Gloucester. Till the docks were made there was an island[5] in the Severn near the castle, which would have been a very suitable spot for a single combat between the two leaders, watched by the rival armies on the river banks.

In 1051, when Edward the Confessor was at Gloucester, Earl Godwine

[1] The bishopric was founded by Henry VIII. in 1541. *Calendar of Records of the Corporation of Gloucester*, No. 23.

[2] A view of this castle, as it appeared in 1792, drawn by Captain Henry Charles Selwyn, is one of the first illustrations given by Fosbrooke in his *History of Gloucester*.

[3] Saxon Chron., A.D. 940. [4] Saxon Chron., A.D. 1016

[5] For a view of this island see *Records of Gloucester Cathedral*, vol. ii., front. See also Speed's Map of Gloucester and Kip's Bird's-eye View.

and his sons, with a large force which they had collected in Wessex and Mercia, occupied the Roman camp at Painswick Beacon; for there was well-nigh war between the king and his most powerful subject because of the feud between Eustace, Earl of Boulogne, and Godwine's townsmen of Dover. However, peace was ultimately declared between them on condition that all such Frenchmen as Eustace should be outlawed.

It was at this time that Aldred, Bishop of Worcester, began to rebuild the Abbey Church of Gloucester in the style which we call Norman. It is interesting to note how each stirring event in the history of Gloucester is graven, as it were, in the stonework of our Cathedral.

In 1085 King William I. held his Court at Gloucester, and the Domesday Record was ordered to be made.

In the mid-winter assembly of 1092 King William II., sick and repentant at Gloucester, forced the crozier of the primacy into the unwilling hand of Anselm. Then was Serlo, the first Norman abbot, rearing up the nave, choir, and presbytery of our Cathedral to abide until the present day in all their stern magnificence.

In 1216 the boy king, Henry III., was crowned at Gloucester in front of the high altar. A few years later the monks with their own hands substituted the present Early English vaulting of the nave for the flat wooden ceiling of Serlo.

In 1318 the south aisle of the nave was transformed, and the Decorated windows, as we see them to-day with their ball-flower ornaments, were inserted in the Norman walls. In 1321, 1322, and again in 1326 the feeble Edward II. visited Gloucester. It was on one of these occasions that, sitting at table in the Abbot's Hall, and seeing on the walls the rude portraits of his predecessors, he asked the abbot playfully whether he too might thus be honoured, and John Thoky, in unconscious prophecy, promised him a better place than that. The abbot's words came true when in 1327 he brought the murdered king from Berkeley, and laid him to rest with all reverence on the north side of the presbytery, where his graceful tomb now stands.

The vast changes which during the next half century converted the architecture of the eastern limb of the Cathedral from Norman into Perpendicular were the outcome of that murder and of that burial; for thousands of pilgrims crowded to the grave of the king, and their offerings gave Abbot Wygmore the opportunity he longed for of raising to a loftier height the choir and presbytery, and throwing a veil of panelled stonework over the face of the Norman walls.

In 1378 Richard II. held a Parliament in the Abbey Workhouse; and in 1407, in the days of Henry IV., the Commons at Gloucester established their claim, which has never since been set aside, that all grants of money should be made in the Lower House. It was during this period, the close

of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century, that the cloisters were reconstructed, and crowned with their exquisite vaulting of fan tracery.

The glorious Cathedral tower, the pride of Severn land, was reared by Robert Tully between 1450 and 1460, and the present Lady Chapel was begun in the reign of the fourth Edward. For half a century only it remained in its perfection of statuary, painting and stained glass. Then came the sweeping destruction of the Dissolution and Reformation, and the Psalmist's words were fulfilled at Gloucester, as at Winchcombe, Hayles, Flaxley, Tewkesbury, &c.: "They break down all the carved work thereof with axes and hammers; again they say, Let us make havoc of them altogether."

Reference has been made to the part which Gloucester has taken in the national history of England; it will now be interesting to trace the origin and growth of its municipal life.

On the Continent many cities preserved almost intact the institutions which Rome had given them: it was not so in England. Some towns grew out of the camps of the English invaders, as Worcester, the fortress of the Hwiccas; some clustered around the walls of a hermitage or monastery, as Malmesbury, Tewkesbury, and Evesham, or around the country residence of a Mercian king or his viceroy, as Winchcombe; others arose from the reoccupation of Roman towns, which the English had sacked and for many years had allowed to lie desolate—such were Gloucester, Cirencester and Bath, which were taken and destroyed by the West Saxons and Hwiccas after the battle of Dyrham in 577. From this time for one hundred years nothing is known of the history of Gloucester, though the Saxon Chronicle tells us that at Cirencester a battle was fought in 628. It is not till 679 that the veil of silence is lifted from Gloucester,[1] and we learn that Wulphere, the first Christian king of Mercia, enlarged and beautified the town.

The Hwiccian and Mercian kings claimed for their own the lands around its walls, which had been cleared from the primæval forests by Roman and Briton, and they became the King's Barton, *i.e.* his farm held in demesne and ploughed for him by his tenants and his British serfs. The names Wotton and Barnwood show us how near Gloucester the forest was in those days.

But within the ruined walls of what had been Glevum English traders and their families were suffered by the king to settle side by side and rebuild the houses which their fathers had destroyed. None possessed land, for all belonged to the royal demesne, and so none were free. The inhabitants were the king's burgesses, his liegemen and servants, who

1 "Memoriale Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Gloucestriæ Compendarium," Dugdale's *Monasticon*, ed. Caley and Ellis, i. 561.

looked to him and him alone for protection and justice. To him they paid in kind his share of the produce of the land they farmed and of the profits of their trade.

In 681 Ethelred, who was then King of the Mercians and overlord of the Hwiccas, gave to his viceroy Osric some of the royal demesne for the endowment of an abbey—really a missionary college—which he was to build and place under the care of his sister Kyneburgh, as abbess. This grant was the origin of Abbots Barton.

We can trace roughly as time goes on the rival growth of freedom in the monastery and in the king's borough of Gloucester. When Beornwulf came to the throne he found the abbey in a ruined and desolate condition; thereupon, in 823, he rebuilt it and changed its form, placing therein secular clergy or canons, and endowing them with the former possessions of Osric's foundation.

In 862 Burgred, King of Mercia, confirmed all the donations which his predecessors had made to St. Peter's, and freed the canons and all their dependants from all lay service or exaction, on condition that day and night for ever intercession should rise to heaven in their church for him and his descendants.

Meanwhile what the ecclesiastics were winning by their prayers for the living and the dead the burgesses were gradually purchasing by gifts of money to the king. It became the one aim of the richer inhabitants to obtain from the Crown wider commercial privileges, grants of fairs, and exemption from tolls.

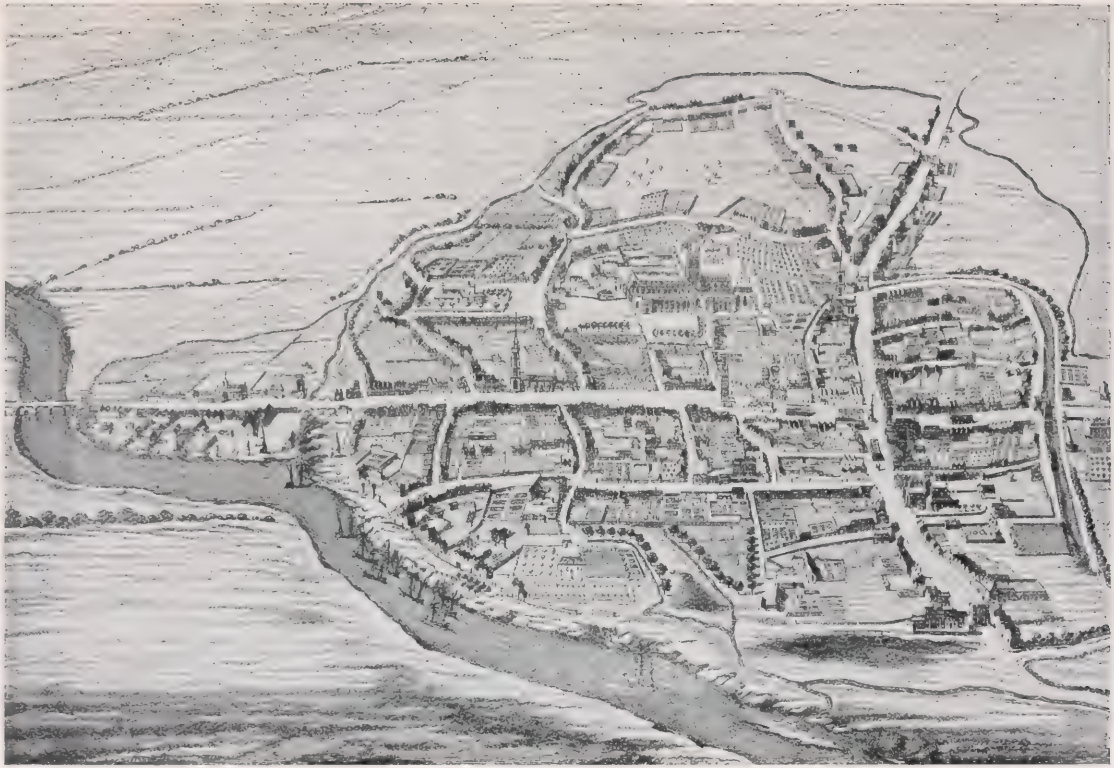
In the days of the Confessor the citizens paid £36 annually to the king in tale, and honey and iron in kind, for the fee-farm of Gloucester. When these dues were paid, although the citizens were still the king's burgesses, they were no longer his serfs—they were comparatively free. True, they were still governed by the king's reeve; but chosen burgesses sat by his side as assessors, and helped him to administer justice.

In the Domesday Survey Gloucester is called "civitas," a city, because, as we have seen, it was a royal burg, and the king held therein his mid-winter Gemot. The annual payment for the fee-farm had changed: it was now £60 by weight, and nothing in kind.

The earliest charter we possess is dated 1155: Henry II. grants to his burgesses of Gloucester the same customs and liberties throughout his land as the better citizens of London and Winchester enjoyed in the days of his grandfather, Henry I.[1] This charter was confirmed by Richard I.[2]

From the charter of 1200 we learn who these *better* citizens were. King John, always out at elbows, and always ready therefore to exchange liberties for hard cash, grants to all the burgesses of Gloucester *of the*

[1] Calendar of the Records of the Corporation of Gloucester, No. 1.
[2] *Id.*, No. 3.



*Kip del.* BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF GLOUCESTER, *c.* 1700.

*merchants' guild* that they shall be quit of tolls throughout his kingdom, London alone excepted, and he gives them the privilege, which was of the greatest value to them, that they should choose their own bailiff. From this time the citizens might be said to rule themselves, and no longer to be under the control of strangers selected by the king. But as yet the merchants' guildsmen, and not the inhabitants of the city generally, were the electors. The place of justice and of solemn assembly was the Guild Hall, and the guild seal was the seal of the city.

As time went on the merchants concentrated their energies on commerce, leaving the meaner employments to those who had not yet obtained their freedom. Then trade guilds arose, obtaining one by one royal sanction, and, what they valued still more, the possession of the franchise for their members. Thus the greater folk and the lesser folk had equal rights. In the reign of Elizabeth there were twenty such trade guilds with hundreds of apprentices. At the beginning of the eighteenth century there were twelve. Now they have all ceased to exist.

The charter of Richard III., 1483, gave the burgesses the right to elect a mayor, aldermen, and sheriff, and made them an incorporated body. The control of trade had now passed from the merchant guilds to the craft guilds, and the king's city was free.

The two views of Gloucester which have been reproduced from Atkyns' *Ancient and Present State of Gloucestershire* show us the city of Gloucester as Kip saw it at the close of the seventeenth century, and such as it had been for centuries previously. Let me briefly describe it. Built on high ground, which had risen higher as time went on by the accretion of *débris*, ancient Gloucester was divided into four unequal parts by four main streets sloping down from their intersection at the Cross towards the four points of the compass from which they took their names. Speed's map, published about 1600, and reproduced by Washbourne in *Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis* and Fosbrooke's *History of Gloucester*, sets forth the city as it appeared before the destruction of its suburbs in August, 1643. We see in this map the city wall extending from the Severn eastwards to what is now the junction of Brunswick and Parliament Roads; from thence it turns southwards and runs as far as St. Aldate Street; from thence it runs westwards to the boundary of the Cathedral precincts. The Roman wall followed the same line. On the west it ran up Barbican Road, and crossing Westgate Street near the Shire Hall, where was an inner west gate, it followed the line of College Street, pierced the Cathedral at the south porch, and formed its north-west angle in the cloisters. In the eleventh century the city was extended westward and northward, and the site and materials of the ancient walls were used by Aldred for his new abbey buildings. Gloucester had five principal gates in the seventeenth century, two in Northgate Street and one in each of the three other

*H. C. S. del.* THE WEST GATE AND BRIDGE, GLOUCESTER, 1792.

principal streets. These were all removed at the close of the eighteenth century. There were moreover the great gate of the abbey in St. Mary's Square, and two others opening into College Green (one of which remains); St. Oswald's Gate, the Alvin Gate, Lady Bell Gate, and a little postern at the north-east angle, all of which last have been destroyed.

Leland, who visited Gloucester late in the reign of Henry VIII., described a bridge, "on the chiefe arme of Severne that runneth hard by the towne, of seven great arches of stone."[1] This was Foreign Bridge which still exists, though buried beneath Westgate Street where Priory Road meets it. Westgate Bridge was built in the time of Henry II. by an architect called Nicholas Walred. The sketch reproduced for this programme was made by Capt. H. C. Selwyn in 1792, a few years before the drawbridge and the gate were removed.[2] In Kip's Bird's-eye View of the city a number of buildings appear in the middle of the principal streets. These were swept away after the passing of an Act of Parliament in 23 George II., 1749-50. Where the roads converged stood the High Cross, which was engraved by G. Vertue in 1750 for *Vetusta Monumenta*. The earliest sketch we have of it appears in Cole's *Rental of the Houses in Gloucester, A.D. 1455*. Here we see an octagonal Gothic structure surmounted by a cross with crocketed shafts. On each side were two trefoiled niches, the lower tier containing water taps; and we know from the Corporation Records that it was used as a conduit. In 1634 the Corporation expended £50 in beautifying it, and £20 was given by Bishop Godfrey Godman for the same purpose. Perhaps it was at this time that the statues of John, Henry III., Queen Eleanor, Edward III., Richard III., and Queen Elizabeth were added. Charles I. was inserted in 1660. This interesting relic of the Middle Ages alas has utterly disappeared.[3] In Southgate Street stood the Wheat Market, near the site of the present Corn Exchange. It was injured in the Siege and rebuilt in 1600. Beyond it was Scrivens' Conduit, built by an ironmonger of that name in 1636. He was buried in the chancel of St. Mary de Crypt in 1645. The conduit was supplied with water from Mattesdune (Matson). It was removed in 1785 to a garden near Eastgate, and in 1830 to Edgeworth Manor, where it now stands.[4]

[1] *Trans.*, xiv., p. 236.

[2] The original is in the possession of Canon Bazeley.

[3] All that is known of it has been well told us by Mr. Dancey in the 24th volume of our *Transactions*, and an interesting sketch of it appears in vol. xix., p. 158, with the Tolsey on the left and the Butchery in the rear.

[4] A drawing to scale and an able description by Mr. H. Medland are given in *Trans.*, xiii., pp. 241–246.

In Eastgate Street, near the present Market House, stood the Barley Market, erected about 1655, on the site of an earlier structure, with the materials from the churches of St. Catherine and St. Aldate. In Westgate Street stood the Butchery and Mercery, blocking the way and dividing the street into two: Butchers' Row and Zonaria. Mr. Fisher's shop on the south side of Westgate Street, No. 14, occupies the site of the Butchers' Guild, and has some interesting carved panels alternating with shields. One bears a butcher's axe, another an animal of some kind. On others are roses, chevrons, the sacred monogram, a sword and horseshoe, &c. Beyond the Butchery and Mercery in the middle of Westgate Street stood the King's Board, which Mr. Medland will describe. Fosbrooke, quoting Martin's *Natural History of England*, 1759, describes it as a small market-house over which was a cistern of Severn water. Over the arches, he says, and on the sides and ends of it were carvings of Scriptural histories. At each corner was a large statue, and on the other side a cross upon a pyramid between four effigies, and it had battlements round it. It was formerly assigned to the sale of butter and cheese, and was built or repaired by King Richard II. In 1572 the upper part was repaired, and about 1691 was taken down that a large cistern might be erected as a reservoir of Severn water from the West Gate. The King's Board was removed in 1750, and ultimately it found a home in the late Mr. Price's grounds at Tibberton Court. This beautiful relic is very different in appearance from what we might expect from Kip's view. It is a polygonal building with five cinquefoiled Gothic arches of the late Decorated style. In the spandrels are carved The flagellation of our Lord, His entry into Jerusalem, The Resurrection, and The Last Supper; at either end are three male figures. Above these is a cornice with roses, &c., and crowning all an embattled parapet. Surely the time has arrived when this and Scrivens' Conduit should by the courtesy of their present owners be returned to the custody of the citizens. Beyond the King's Board opposite Craft's Lane, now College Court, was Trinity Church.

The church originally consisted of a nave and chancel with a beautiful tower at the west end. In 1698 the chancel and the greater part of the nave were removed, and what was left of the latter was converted into a fire-engine house. Sir Robert Atkyns says that "the site of the church (*i. e.* the chancel) was turned into a market, but so well regulated as to give no disturbance to the many worthy magistrates of the city interred beneath." This market may be the block of buildings we see in Kipp's view between the King's Board and Trinity Church.

At the west end of the tower of Trinity Church was Trinity Well. A rough sketch of it is given in the *Rental of Gloucester*, 1455. The well itself indeed is still there, though hidden; but the ancient covering was removed before Kip's view was taken, either because the water was found

impure and the well filled in, or because of the prejudice of the Puritan citizens of Gloucester. It seems to have been hexagonal with slender buttresses, quatrefoil openings in the sides, and battlemented cornice. It was surmounted by a floriated cross on three steps.

## THE CATHEDRAL.

The cathedral church of the Holy and Undivided Trinity was, until the Dissolution, the conventual church of the rich, mitred Benedictine Abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul.[1]

[1] Hence the ancient arms: *Az. two keys in saltire with a sword in pale, or.*

The monastery was founded by Osric in 681 as a home for the Northumbrian missionaries who came at the bidding of Wulphere and Æthelred, Kings of Mercia, to reconvert the inhabitants of the Severn Vale to Christianity.[1] In 823 Beornwulph changed Osric's house into a College of Canons, and in the days of Cnut it became a Benedictine Abbey. The original building is said to have stood on the site of the present Lady Chapel: none of it remains. The dates of the abbots and the architectural work ascribed to them is given in the following table, which was prepared for the *Cathedral Records*, vol. II., by the editor, the Rev. W. Bazeley:—

### CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE ABBOTS, AND THE BUILDINGS RECORDED TO HAVE BEEN ERECTED BY THEM.

| KINGS. | | ABBOTS. | | NOTES FROM THE HISTORY.[2] |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | LATE ANGLO-SAXON AND NORMAN, 1022—1154. |
| Cnut | 1017 | Edric | 1022 | |
| Harold I. | 1037 | | | |
| Hardicanute | 1039 | | | |
| Edward the Confessor | 1041 | Wulstan | 1058 | Aldred, Bishop of Worcester, 1044—1060, rebuilt the Church and consecrated it in 1058. |
| Harold II. | 1066 | | | |
| William I. | 1066 | Serlo | 1072 | Serlo laid the foundation of a new Church in 1089, and dedicated it in 1100. |
| William II. | 1087 | | | |
| Henry I. | 1100 | | | |
| | | Peter | 1104 | Peter enclosed the Monastery with a stone wall, part of which may be seen in College Court. |
| | | Wm. Godemon | 1113 | |
| | | Walter de Lacy | 1130 | |
| Stephen | 1135 | Gilbert Foliot | 1139 | |

[1] *Trans.*, xiii., 155.

[2] See *History and Chartulary of St. Peter's Monastery*, vol. i.

## CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE ABBOTS, AND THE BUILDINGS RECORDED TO HAVE BEEN ERECTED BY THEM.

| KINGS. | | ABBOTS. | NOTES FROM THE HISTORY [1] |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Hammeline 1148 | TRANSITIONAL NORMAN. (*c.* 1154—*c.* 1189.) |
| Henry II. | 1154 | Thomas Carbonel 1179 | |
| Richard I. | 1189 | | EARLY ENGLISH. (*c.* 1189–*c.* 1272.) |
| John | 1199 | Henry Blond 1205 | Helias, the Sacrist, erected a Great Eastern Tower, and placed new Stalls in the Choir 1222—1237.[2] |
| Henry III. | 1216 | Henry Foliot 1228 | The vaulting of [the central part of] the Nave completed, and a South-Western Tower commenced 1242. |
| | | Walter de S. John 1243 | This S.W. Tower completed 1243. |
| | | John de Felda 1243 | The old Refectory taken down and rebuilt 1246. |
| | | Reg. de Homme 1263 | |
| | | | DECORATED. (*c.* 1272—*c.* 1377.) |
| Edward I. | 1272 | John Gamages 1284 | A new Dormitory begun 1302, and finished 1313. |
| Edward II. | 1307 | John Thokey 1307 | The South Aisle of Nave reconstructed 1318. |
| Edward III. | 1327 | | |
| | | John Wygmore 1329 | The Abbot's Chamber and St. Andrew's Aisle reconstructed 1329—1337. |
| | | Adam de Staunton 1337 | Vaulting of the Choir and new Stalls on the Prior's side completed 1337—1351. |
| | | Thomas Horton 1351 | Great Altar, Presbytery, Stalls on Abbot's side, and Cloisters as far as door of Chapter House completed 1351—1377. |
| | | | PERPENDICULAR. (*c.* 1377—*c.* 1547.) |
| Richard II. | 1377 | John Boyfield 1377 | Reconstruction of S. Paul's Aisle begun in 1368, and finished in 1372. |

[1] See *History and Chartulary of St. Peter's Monastery*, vol. i.

[2] There are now no traces of this Early English tower built by Helias, but the Norman sub-structure still remains.

## CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE ABBOTS, AND THE BUILDINGS RECORDED TO HAVE BEEN ERECTED BY THEM.

| KINGS. | | ABBOTS. | NOTES FROM THE HISTORY [1] |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Walter Frocester 1381 | The Cloisters completed 1381-1412. |
| Henry IV. | 1399 | Hugh Morton 1412 | |
| Henry V. | 1413 | John Morwent 1421 | The West Front, the Porch, and two Western Bays built 1421-1437. |
| Henry VI. | 1422 | Reginald Boteler 1437 | |
| | | Thomas Seabroke 1450 | The Great Eastern Tower rebuilt 1450—1457. |
| Edward IV. | 1461 | Richard Hanley 1457 | |
| | | William Farley 1472 | The Lady Chapel built by Hanley and Farley 1457—1498. |
| Edward V. | 1483 | John Malverne 1499 | |
| Richard III. | 1483 | | |
| Henry VII. | 1485 | | |
| | | Thomas Braunche 1500 | |
| Henry VIII. | 1509 | John Newton 1510 | |
| | | William Parker 1514 | The Vestry and Chapel on North side of Choir built 1514—1539. |

The following guides, written or published locally, may be referred to for the study of the Cathedral and the many interesting objects it contains:—

*Notes and Sketches*, by F. S. Waller, 1882; *Guide*, by the late Rev. H. Haines, revised by F. S. Waller, various editions; the *Records of Gloucester Cathedral*, edited for the Cathedral Society by William Bazeley, M.A., 1882-1897, containing "Gloucester and its Abbey," by E. A. Freeman, "Notes," by W. H. St. John Hope, with a valuable plan of the conventual buildings and various papers on the royal badges, organ, bells, monuments, great east window, early Lady Chapel, &c., &c.;[2] *Dreamland in History*, and other works by Dean Spence, 1891, &c.; "Description of the Cathedral" in *Deacon's Court Guide*, 1899, by William Bazeley.

[1] See *History and Chartulary of St. Peter's Monastery*, vol. i.

[2] The publications of the Cathedral Society may be obtained at Mrs. Packer's, S.P.C.K. Depôt, College Court, Gloucester.

THE INFIRMARY OF ST. PETER'S ABBEY, GLOUCESTER.
*R. W. Dugdale, Photo.*

## THE PARISH CHURCHES OF GLOUCESTER.

In 1100 there were ten parish churches in Gloucester; in Leland's time there were eleven. Four had disappeared or had been secularised and two were in ruins when Kip drew his Bird's-eye View. All Saints', which stood near the cross on the site of the present Wilts and Dorset Bank, was converted into a Tolsey in 1648. The church consisted of a fourteenth-century nave of two bays, with doorway and window at the west end, and a chancel of the same date. But when the Tolsey was cleared away in 1893 traces of an Early English church 3 feet lower, and of a Saxon church 7 feet lower, were discovered.[1]

St. Aldate's Church, on the site of the present church of that dedication, was destroyed in 1653. It consisted of nave, chancel and low spire, and was roofed with shingles. It contained a chantry dedicated to St. Mary and a fraternity of St. John.

St. Mary de Grace stood in Westgate Street on a place called the Knapp, between the Butchery and the King's Board, opposite St. John's Lane, formerly called St. Mary de Grace Lane. There was a college of priests attached to it. In 1648 the church was converted into a magazine for ammunition, and in 1654 it was taken down, and a herb and fish market was held on the site.

Outside the south gate stood the church of St. Owen, or St. Audoen.

[1] *Trans.*, xix., pp. 142-158.

It was founded by Walter, Constable of Gloucester, and attached to the Castle. In 1137 Milo, Earl of Hereford, gave it to Llanthony Priory. It was made a parochial church, and thus was preserved from destruction at the Dissolution. It was burnt by Sir W. Waller, Governor of Gloucester, in 1643, at the commencement of the siege. It had a fraternity of St. John Baptist, a chantry of St. Mary, and an altar dedicated to St. Catherine. A nonconformist chapel was erected on the site in 1730.

The tower and spire of St. John's Church are ancient, but the body of the church was rebuilt in 1732-4. Lord Strafford and Viscount Lovel took sanctuary in this church after the battle of Bosworth Field. There are some interesting monuments of citizens and massive silver communion plate.

St. Nicholas' Church in Westgate Street was founded in the twelfth century as a chapel attached to St. Bartholomew's Hospital. The only

ST. NICHOLAS' CHURCH, GLOUCESTER.

parts of the original Norman church which remain are the south wall and doorway of the nave, and three piers and two arches of the north arcade. Early in the thirteenth century, with these exceptions, the church was rebuilt. In the fourteenth century a south porch and north transept were added, and decorated windows were inserted in the south wall of the

chancel and east end of the south aisle. In the fifteenth century the east window of the chancel and the windows of the south aisle were altered and filled with perpendicular tracery. At the same period the tower and spire were built. The spire is intact in Kip's view. In 1783 it showed signs of weakness; the upper part was taken down as far as the corona, and the weather-cock was added.

St. Nicholas' is an ideal city church, and deserves a visit and careful study. It has a fine Jacobæan gallery front, many interesting monuments

SANCTUARY KNOCKER AT ST. NICHOLAS' CHURCH.

of citizens, and a sanctuary knocker or closing ring on the south door.[1]

St. Mary de Lode derives its name from a lode or passage near it over the old bed of Severn. It is always called in the Abbey Records "St. Mary before the Gate of the Abbey." In early Saxon times the only church in Gloucester stood here, and previously to that a Roman temple. All the other parishes have been carved out of this, and Barnwood and Upton St. Leonards were chapelries belonging to it. It is a striking

[1] *Trans.*, xxiii., 107-125.

example of the possible horrors of restoration. Instead of repairing the nave the parishioners took it down about 1825 and rebuilt it. We learn from the ancient Norman chancel and chancel arch how much we lost by their so doing. The church contains the tomb of an anchorite who lived in the hermitage at Saintbridge, near Matson, and the fourteenth-century recumbent figure of an ecclesiastic. Bishop Hooper was burnt in the churchyard in 1555, and a monument marks the site of his martyrdom. See the view given in Fosbrooke's *Gloucester*.

The present Church of St. Catherine is entirely new; but close to it are the ruins of the conventual church of St. Oswald's Priory. In 909 Ethelred and his wife Ethelfleda, daughter of Alfred the Great and Lady of the Mercians, built a monastery here and dedicated it to St. Oswald, king and martyr. In the eleventh century it had become a college of Augustinian canons, and it remained so till the Dissolution. In the Gloucester Museum is a beautiful sculptured stone which may well have formed part of a cross erected in memory of Ethelfleda. The Saxon church was pulled down by Thurstan, Archbishop of York, 1114—1140 and the Norman church, of which the ruins are a fragment, was rebuilt by him in its place. It probably consisted of a nave with aisles, central tower, transepts, and chancel with aisles. The north arcade of the nave, the east wall of the north aisle, and a portion of the north-west turret of the transept remains, but are in ruins.[1]

The Church of St. Michael's was rebuilt in 1851. Two views by Bonnor of its predecessor are given in Fosbrooke's *History of Gloucester*. The church consisted, as at present, of a chancel and one aisle. On the north side, facing Eastgate Street, there were four fourteenth-century windows and a doorway. On the south side, overlooking the churchyard, were two more of the same date, and between them a semi-circular rood-loft staircase and a priest's door. Another window on this side and the east window of the chancel were perpendicular. The panelled fifteenth-century tower had massive buttresses at the N.W. and S. angles, and there was a porch on the west side.

In 1285 Peter, Bishop of Exeter, sold St. Michael's to the monks of St. Peter's Abbey. It would seem that a Saxon thane called Edmar held certain lands and houses in Southgate Street in the time of Edward the Confessor, and that they had passed at the time of the Great Survey into the hands of Osbern, second Bishop of Exeter, 1073—1105, a brother of FitzOsbern, Earl of Hereford. He also held as the gift of his brother manors in Titherington, Bitton, and Tidenham. Moreover, in 1086 he

[1] *Trans.*, xiii., pp. 118–129. Students of ancient Gloucester, and especially the members of this Society, are greatly indebted to Mr. Henry Medland, a distinguished architect and archæologist of this city, for the researches he has made, and for the richly-illustrated papers he has contributed to the *Transactions* of this and the Cathedral Society, on All Saints', St. Oswald's, St. Nicholas', and Scrivens' Conduit.—W.B.

gave Serlo the manor of Tuffley to help him replenish the impoverished Abbey of St. Peter's, and build his new church.

Osbern was a chaplain of the Confessor, one of those Normans whom the English king delighted to honour. He seems to have used his city possessions in building and endowing three churches—St. Michael's, All Saints', and St. Mary de Crypt—handing on the advowsons to his successors in the See of Exeter.

In connection with St. Michael's there were two religious guilds—one of weavers, under the patronage of St. Anne, and another, probably of clothmakers, under the patronage of St. John Baptist, having their hall in Eastgate. The chapel of St. Martin, on the opposite side of Eastgate, was also dependent on St. Michael's Church.

A monument in this church to the memory of William Henshawe, who was mayor thrice in the first decade of the sixteenth century, recalls the fact that bell-founding was one of the principal industries of this city for many centuries. Henshawe had his foundry in "Bell" Lane.

St. Mary de Crypt takes its name from two vaults beneath the church. In old documents it is called "Christ Church," "St. Mary in the South," &c. It was founded, as we have seen, by Osbern, Bishop of Exeter, *c.* 1080, and it was given to Llanthony Priory by one of his successors, Bishop Robert, in 1137. The church is cruciform, with central tower, nave and nave aisles, chancel with north and south chapels, and transepts.

The west doorway, over-restored in 1845, seems to be the only relic of the Early Norman church, which consisted probably of a nave without aisles, central tower, transepts, and chancel.

In the thirteenth century Early English arcades were constructed, and nave aisles and chancel chapels were added. Of this work the western responds, a door in the north aisle of the nave (blocked up inside), and two lancet windows (one of three lights) in the south chapel remain. This thirteenth-century addition must have destroyed the original cruciform appearance of the church.

In the fourteenth century Decorated windows were inserted in the east wall of the south chapel and in the walls of the nave aisles.

But the greatest changes took place late in the fifteenth century. Probably, as in so many cases, the Norman tower fell and crushed the earlier work. Before the restoration of 1845 many tiles existed in the chancel with the arms of Henry Dene, elected Prior of Llanthony in 1476. It is to this distinguished ecclesiastic that I am inclined to attribute the Perpendicular tower, nave and chancel. The south porch, the east window, the windows of the north chapel, the elegant sedilia, the Easter Sepulchre, the piscina, the screens, and the chancel roof are all Perpendicular. Remains of fresco painting (? the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin on the north side) are visible in the eastern bays of the chancel, and also

female figures in the niches over the Easter Sepulchre. The altar has its original slab. The five consecration crosses were ruthlessly destroyed in 1845.

The chancel has a clerestory, but not the nave. There is a wooden screen at the entrance of the choir, and stone screens separate the chancel from its chapels.

Amongst the many interesting tombs in this church are those of John Cook, founder of the Crypt School, d. 1529; Sir Thomas Bell, of the Blackfriars, d. 1566; Daniel Lysons, d. 1681; Robert Raikes, founder of Sunday Schools, d. 1823; and Jimmy Wood, banker, d. 1836.

## THE PRIORIES OF GLOUCESTER.

The Priory of Llanthony derives its name from a charming valley in Monmouthshire, where a monastery of Augustinian canons was founded early in the twelfth century by Ernisi, who had been chaplain to Matilda, wife of Henry I. In the civil wars of King Stephen the Welsh took advantage of their enemies' divisions to ravage the lands which had been taken from them, and the unfortunate canons had to fly for their lives to Hereford. Bishop Robert Betun had been previously their prior, and he generously entertained them until they had well-nigh impoverished him Then he induced Milo, the Constable of Gloucester, to give them a site called the Hyde for a permanent home near Gloucester. In 1136 their new church was ready for consecration, and they transported all their movables from the fastnesses of their first mountain home to Gloucester. Milo and his lineal descendants, the De Bohuns, were buried in the chapter house and choir. One of the most famous of their priors was Henry Dean, 1476–1496, who became successively Bishop of Bangor in 1496, Bishop of Salisbury in 1500, and Archbishop of Canterbury in 1501. The priory was surrendered to the king's commissioners by Richard Hart, the prior, and twenty-one canons, in 1539. No pains were taken to preserve the church and conventual buildings, and they rapidly fell into decay. Many tiles bearing the arms of Dene, brought, it is said, from Llanthony Priory after the Dissolution, may be seen in the Lady Chapel of Gloucester Cathedral. In the British Museum are a large number of manuscripts which once belonged to the library of the priory. Theyer, a learned antiquary of Cooper's Hill, Brockworth, inherited them through a sister of Prior Hart, and on his death they were sold to King Charles II. At the time of the siege Llanthony was occupied by the king's forces, and the tower was battered down by the Gloucester guns.

On the gateway, 1496—1500, are the arms of De Bohun ("Az. a bend arg. cottised between six lions rampant") and of Henry Dene, as Bishop

of Bangor ("Arg. a chevron gn. between three Cornish choughs"). When he became archbishop he placed three croziers on his chevron. His device was a hand holding an oak branch, and his motto "Timentibus Deum nichil deest." The arms of the priory were "Party per pale az. and gu. on a chevron arg. between three oak branches of the 3rd fructed and stemmed three marigolds proper." They may be seen at Bromsberrow, Flaxley, and in the Lady Chapel of Gloucester Cathedral.

When the Berkeley Canal was made the workmen dug through the presbytery of the conventual church. Several stone coffins were found, and the dust of the illustrious dead which occupied them was scattered to the winds.

The priory of the Dominican or Black Friars is on the west side of Southgate Street.

At Gloucester, as elsewhere, the coming of the friars was hailed with delight by the townsfolk, however distasteful it may have proved to be to the monks and secular clergy. In 1221 the first followers of St. Dominic landed at Dover, and were cordially received by the Primate, Stephen Langton. On the 10th of August they were in London, and on the 15th at Oxford. It was not long ere they were preaching with all their enthusiasm and coarse wit at the High Cross of Gloucester. We first hear of them here in 1239, when Sir Stephen de Harnhill bestowed on them a site for their dwelling and church between the castle and the South Gate. For five-and-twenty years subsequently Henry III. was heaping on them gifts of oak from the Forest of Dean, and in 1265 the priory and church were finished. Thomas Lord Berkeley, Godfrey Giffard, Bishop of Worcester 1267—1301, and the three Edwards in succession, bestowed on the brethren lands, money, timber, and food.

In 1364 William de Cheltenham gave them land for enlarging their homestead, and Henry IV. granted timber from his royal park at Harsfield In the fourteenth century there were forty religious in the priory. In the Civil Wars of the Roses they had dwindled down to seven. In 1538 they surrendered their house to the King's Commissioners, and in 1539 a grant of the site was made to Thomas Bell, alderman. He was a clothmaker, and the first to introduce into the city the trade of "capping." He turned the friars' church into a private residence and the conventual buildings into factories

The priory buildings which remain are extensive. On the north is the church with choir, north transept, and traces of a tower and north aisle, all restored early in the sixteenth century. On the west are the remains of the Prior's Lodgings, with a triplet Early English window at the south end dating back to the first coming of the friars to Gloucester, On the south are the dormitory and its cubicles with stone screens or divisions, and an outer stone staircase perfect within the last few years. In the middle are

the cloisters and cloister-garth, and on the east remains of what perhaps was the chapter house.

In 1819 tiles bearing the arms of Prior Dene of Llanthony, the Abbey of St. Peter, and the Priory of Llanthony might be seen on the floor of one of the dwelling-houses. Through the courtesy of the Archæological Institute, a plate is given of the seal of the convent with the figures of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Dominic, and the words **Commune : trm : Predicator' Gloucestriæ.** The date is thought to be about 1280.[1]

The priory of the Franciscan or Grey Friars is situated at the east end of St. Mary de Crypt Church.

Within two years of the landing of the Dominicans at Dover a few followers of St. Francis of Assisi had found their way to Canterbury. We know not in what year their stirring calls to a holier life and more spiritual worship were heard at Gloucester, probably before 1225. They had a house here in 1239, for Ralph de Maydestane, Bishop of Hereford, resigned his See in that year, and took at Gloucester the habit of a Grey Friar. We learn from the register of Llanthony that a site was granted to the Franciscans in the South Street, and that the first house was built by Friar Abingdon. Thomas Lord Berkeley, on the entreaty of his wife, gave them additional land in 1250. In the middle of the fourteenth century a dispute arose between the Grey Friars and the monks of St. Peter's about the water supply from Mattesdune, and Edward the Black Prince came down to settle it. In 1542 Isabel, wife of James Lord Berkeley, died or was murdered in Gloucester Castle, and was buried in in the church of the Grey Friars. The friary was suppressed in 1538.

The church only remains. It consists of nave and chancel with north aisle, built about the end of the fifteenth century; and there seems to have been a Lady Chapel or some such building attached to the east end of the chancel. Over the south doorway are two shields: "Or, a pile gules," Chandos, and "Chequy or and az., on a bend gu. three lions passant arg.," Clifford of Frampton. The site was granted to John Jennings. The crypt school has been erected in the Friars' Orchard. This was the hottest

[1] See a valuable paper on the "Friar Preachers of Gloucester" in the *Arch. Journ.* xxxix., pp. 296-306.

corner of the city during the siege, suffering much from the king's artillery. Sir William Massey is said to have lived here in 1643, and Judge Powell in the reign of James II.[1]

The White Friars or House of the Carmelites, Leland tells us, "stood in the suburbe without the North-Gate."[2] It is said to have been founded by Queen Eleanor, Sir Thomas Gifford, and Sir Thomas Berkeley, or one of them, about 1269. Whatever remains there were in 1643 were then destroyed, and the materials were used for repairing the city walls.

## THE GLOUCESTER HOSPITALS

There were four hospitals in or near Gloucester, three of which are mentioned by Leland.[3]

LYSON'S VIEW OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S.

St. Bartholomew's stands in what is still called "the Island," because the Severn in older times flowed on all sides of it. St. Bartholomew's Hospital was founded in the reign of Henry II. by William Myparty, a burgess of Gloucester, as a hostel for a guild of workmen who were building Westgate Bridge, under the direction of Master Nicholas Walred. In the reign of Henry III. the Church of St. Nicholas was attached to it, and the inmates had the privilege granted to them of electing their own prior. It had then become a refuge for decayed workmen who were not less than 52 years old.

Many charters relating to St. Bartholomew's Hospital appear in the Corporation Records and the Abbey Registers; and it is to be hoped that

[1] See an excellent paper on the Grey Friars by the Rev. W. H. Silvester Davies in *Trans.* xiii., pp. 173-187, and the view in Fosbrooke's *Gloucester*.

[2] *Trans.*, xiii., p. 237. [3] *Trans.*, xiv., p. 237.

one of our members will do justice to its interesting history, and contribute his paper to our *Transactions*. The hospital as we now see it was rebuilt at the close of the eighteenth century; the older building appears in Kip's view, in Captain Selwyn's sketch of Westgate Bridge, and in Lyson's *Antiquities of Gloucester*, 1803, Plate LXIV. From Lyson's view we may gather that it was very little altered from the time of Henry III. till its destruction, as all the large windows, with one exception, belong to the Early English style of architecture prevailing in his reign.

St. Kyneburgh's Hospital, for the maintenance of six poor people, with a pittance of 1s. 6d. a week, stood just within the South Gate. It was built and endowed by Sir Thomas Bell on the site of an early chapel, dedicated to St. Kyneburgh, which belonged to Llanthony Priory. Fosbrooke says that it was founded before the Conquest. The effigy of a lady who Fosbrooke suggests was one of the daughters of Humphrey de Bohun, was removed from St. Kyneburgh's Hospital to the little chapel of St. Sepulchre, or St. Mary Magdalene, and may still be seen there. Tradition ascribed it to St. Kyneburgh herself. A fifteenth-century Lectionary in the British Museum[1] tells us all that is known about Kyneburgh, the only inhabitant of Gloucester who has as yet been canonised. She was descended from the royal family of the Saxons, and when she was of age her parents insisted on her marriage with a neighbouring prince. But preferring a life of perpetual virginity, she fled from Thornbury to Gloucester and offered herself as a servant to a baker. Her master, admiring her saintly character, adopted her as his daughter; but his wife, filled with jealousy, secretly put her to death, and cast her body into a well near the South Gate. Many miracles were said to have been wrought near this spot. Thenceforth she was reverenced as a saint and martyr, and a chapel was built and solemnly dedicated to her honour by Robert, Bishop of Hereford, in 1147. Here were placed the bones of St. Kyneburgh. Later on, we are told, they were removed surreptitiously by the priest-in-charge, but they were recovered and restored to her shrine on April 10th, 1390, with great pomp and ceremony, by Henry, Bishop of Worcester, the Abbot of St. Peter's, and the Priors of Llanthony and St. Oswald's.

At the Dissolution part of the chapel was granted to the Guild of Cordwainers for their hall.

The Leper Hospitals of St. Margaret and St. Mary Magdalene owe their origin to the prevalence in olden days of a terrible disease which has now happily become almost extinct in Europe. Leprosy has been thought by some writers to have been brought back from the Holy Land by Crusaders, and the dedication of the little chapel we shall visit to the Holy Sepulchre seems to support that theory. But Archbishop Lanfranc,

[1] Lansdowne MS., No. 387

*H. Medland, Photo.* LEPER HOSPITAL OF ST. MARY MAGDALENE, GLOUCESTER.

who died in 1089, founded a home for lepers at Canterbury seven years before the preaching of the first Crusade. As the Rev. S. E. Bartleet has pointed out in his paper on these hospitals,[1] the disease was probably caused and aggravated by the filthy habits of the people and the unwholesome food they consumed.

The chancel of St. Sepulchre's alone remains. The nave was destroyed in 1861 and the south doorway built up in the chancel arch. A view

DOORWAY, ST. MARY MAGDALENE, GLOUCESTER.
*H. Medland, Photo.*

of the chapel taken by Mr. Medland whilst it was still intact is reproduced by his kind permission. The style of architecture shows that the chapel was built early in the twelfth century, not very long after Lanfranc's foundation at Canterbury. The doorway has a beautiful Norman arch of many orders of moulding supported by capitals ornamented with mosaic pattern, Romanesque foliage, and nailhead designs, and by shafts with zig-zag and

1 *Trans.*, xx., pp. 127–137.

twisted mouldings. On the walls are floriated crosses and strange geometrical designs, which have never been satisfactorily explained. The original Norman windows have been removed and replaced by others of a much later date.

St. Margaret's Hospital has been rebuilt, and is now, as it has been for many years, an almshouse where deserving aged citizens find a home and slender income.

## SOME OLD GLOUCESTER HOUSES.

There are still a few houses remaining which bear the impress of Tudor and Plantagenet domestic architecture, though it is a thousand pities that so many barge-boarded and half-timbered fronts have been destroyed within the last few decades. Tewkesbury has been more fortunate under the fostering hand of the late Mr. Tom Collins.

In Northgate Street the New Inn (new in 1457, when so many pilgrims were thronging to the tomb of the murdered Edward that there was not room enough for them in the Guesten House of the abbey) has preserved its two tiers of galleries, its outside staircases and open courtyards.[1]

In Hare Lane are Dunning's Place, the Tanners' Guild Hall, and the old cottage in which Raikes originated Sunday Schools.

In Westgate Street, opposite St. Nicholas' Church, is the house in which Bishop Hooper rested the night before he was martyred in St. Mary's Square; and here, not long ago, was found the mace of the sheriff who handed him over to the civil power. East of the church is a fine Tudor mansion with a noble mantel-piece. The house is said to have been the abode of Richard Pate, founder of Cheltenham Grammar School; and here Queen Elizabeth is said to have stayed during her progress of 1574. Higher up the street is Mr. Winfield's beautiful house, No. 154, of which Mr. F. S. Waller has given us a drawing in our *Transactions*.[2] Here dwelt Richard Webb, mayor in 1760, 1767, and 1782, and previously it was the hall of the Grocers' Guild. Mr. Fisher's house, No. 163, was the home of Thomas Payne, mayor 1540 and 1552, and contains a panelled room with many interesting carvings.[3]

In Southgate Street is the old town residence of the Yate family, rich in heraldry, now occupied by Mr. Clark; and opposite St. Mary de Crypt (now the shop of Messrs. Sterry and Morris) is the house where Robert Raikes lived and worked. Hidden away and well-nigh forgotten, save by their humble denizens, in old alleys and remote corners, will be found by him who has the patience to seek for them, many another quaint

[1] See view in Britton's *Picturesque Cities*. [2] ii., p. 192.

[3] A richly illustrated description may be bought at Mr. Fisher's.

and beautiful building which, if it could speak, would tell strange tales of bygone days when Gloucester fought for her freedom and won it."

The first incident in the lengthy and varied programme which had been arranged for the members of the Society, under the supervision of an influential Committee, with Mr. H.T. Bruton as Hon. Local Secretary, was their reception by the Mayor and Corporation at the Guildhall on July 14th, 1903. The annual meeting was held in the Council Chamber. The following supported the Mayor upon the dais:—The City High Sheriff (Ald. G. A. Baker), Sir Brook Kay, Bart. (President of the Council of the Society), Mr. F. A. Hyett (President-elect), and the Rev. E. R. Dowdeswell (the retiring President). Among the members of the City Council present were Aldermen Hume and Hardman, and Councillors J. B. Karn, F. Treasure, Dr. Hadwen, C. H. Poole, J. R. Pope, G. Peters, J. D. Birchall, G. Packer, R. Fream, and H. T. Bruton.

His WORSHIP said to welcome the Society that day was an honour and privilege that he certainly did not anticipate when he seconded at Tewkesbury last year the proposition to hold the next summer meeting at Gloucester. Gloucester was so well known to most, if not all of them, that it was hardly necessary for him to enumerate the various objects of archæological interest they had to show; but in case some of them might not have studied with that diligence it deserved the admirable programme which Canon Bazeley had drawn up for them, perhaps he might be permitted briefly to refer to one or two of the landmarks of Gloucester's history, and they would pardon him if what he said was an oft-told tale to most of them. Gloucester was a town and city that could look back upon a continuous life of eighteen centuries and a half. It was founded in the early days of Roman domination as a military camp to guard the passage of the Severn, though previous to that there was a prehistoric settlement at Kingsholm, within the present city but outside the Roman city. After the Romans withdrew and the English had conquered this part of the island, although Gloucester never lay waste as Cirencester and other places did, still we heard very little of it during the earlier years of the English rule; but gradually it emerged, and became after the Conquest the third of the important cities of the kingdom—London and Winchester only taking precedence. Kings often held their Courts here, Parliaments were held here, one king died here, another was crowned here, and a third was buried here. It was at Gloucester, and most probably in the Chapter House at the Cathedral, that William the Conqueror gave orders for the Domesday Survey. It was at Gloucester—at a Parliament held here—that the Commons vindicated against the King, and against the other estates of the realm, their right to instigate fiscal legislation; or, in other words, to control the purse of the nation. That was early in the fifteenth century,

and later on in the century the men of Gloucester shut their gates against Queen Margaret when pursued by Edward IV., and as a result she had to retreat onwards—a retreat that ended in the disastrous battle of Tewkesbury and the overthrow of the House of Lancaster, and the establishment of the House of York in the person of Edward IV. In the year 1555 the martyrdom of Bishop Hooper took place on a spot they would subsequently see, and it was one of those object lessons which contributed so powerfully to the success of the Reformation. In the year 1643 the citizens of Gloucester struck a noble stroke for liberty. Charles I., moving from Bristol, summoned them to open their gates to him on the 10th of August That night must have been one of anxious consultation in Gloucester, and on the following morning the answer of the citizens was given. A soldier and a citizen rode out to the King's camp and replied that the city was at the orders of His Majesty as soon as those orders were signified by both Houses of Parliament. One of the men who rode out to the King was Toby Jordan, and the scene of the meeting was depicted on a canvas that hung on the walls of the Guildhall, a picture that was perhaps of more historic interest than artistic merit. Toby Jordan was one of his (the Mayor's) predecessors in the civic chair, several relics in connection with whom would be shown them in the course of their meeting, among others the great sword of State, which perhaps they had already seen in the hands of one of the officials. The result was that Gloucester stood stoutly and stubbornly a siege of nearly a month, until on September 15th Lord Essex came over the Cotswolds from Chipping Campden and compelled the King to raise the siege, and after some marching and counter-marching inflicted on him the disaster of Newbury. Charles never recovered from the repulse before Gloucester, which was the one important link in the chain of events which led him to his doom, and ensured the continuance and development of our civil and religious liberties. He did not think there was any need to go further into the history of a city which had witnessed so many stirring scenes, and which had played so noble a part in the history of England. Naturally there were many interesting memorials of the past to show, and these would be at their inspection in the course of their meeting, and chief among them was the Cathedral, which, without any abuse of language, they might call a sublime creation of mediæval art. Other objects of interest in connection with the city would be found in the permanent museum in Brunswick Road, and in the temporary museum which had been provided in the assembly room of the Guildhall. He had very much pleasure in welcoming them on behalf of the Corporation and the citizens of Gloucester, and hoped their visit would be favoured with fine weather.

The Rev. E. R. DOWDESWELL, on behalf of the Society, thanked the Mayor for his interesting speech, and his Worship and the members of

the Corporation for their kindness and courtesy in placing the Guildhall at their disposal during the visit of the Society to Gloucester. He did not know how many years it was since the Society paid its last visit to Gloucester, but he had lived within fourteen or sixteen miles of the city all his life, and had never before paid it an archæological visit, and therefore he looked forward to it with great pleasure and interest, and he supposed there were others present in somewhat the same position.

The Rev. Canon BAZELEY (Hon. General Secretary) then read the annual report of the Society, which showed a very favourable state of affairs.

## COUNCIL REPORT.

THE Council of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society present the following report for the year ending July 14th, 1903:—

There are at present 421 annual members, 82 life members, and 3 honorary members on the Society's list, giving a total strength of 506 members.

The income of the Society for the year ending December 31st, 1902, including a balance of £254 5s. 10d. at the Society's bankers on January 1st, 1902, was £646 8s., and the expenditure for the same period, including the sum of £186, invested in Consols, was £530 9s. 6d., leaving a balance at the Society's bankers on January 1st, 1903, of £215 18s. 6d., of which £100 has been placed on deposit. From this balance, however, should be deducted the cost of the Society's *Transactions* for 1902, the first part of which is in the members' hands, and the second part is well-nigh ready for issue. Besides this balance, the Society has a funded capital of £832 3s. 8d. Consols.

The Society held its Annual Summer Meeting last year at Tewkesbury, under the presidency of the Rev. E. R. Dowdeswell, M.A. On Tuesday, July 8th, the Abbey Church was visited, under the guidance of Mr. St. Clair Baddeley, who described the fourteenth-century windows; Mr. Albert Hartshorne, F.S.A., who spoke on the tombs and effigies; and Mr. Bannister, Mr. H. A. Prothero, and the Rev. Canon Bazeley, who conducted parties to the various parts of the sacred building. The vicar and Mrs. Wardell Yerburgh received the members at afternoon tea. Subsequently many old houses were visited in the town. In the evening a conversazione was held at the Town Hall, and several interesting papers were read and discussed. These appear in Vol. xxv. of the Society's *Transactions*. The Mayor and Mrs. Moore kindly offered the members refreshments. On Wednesday, July 9th, the members visited Great Malvern Priory and Little Malvern Priory, and they were hospitably received at Pull Court by the President and Mrs. W. Dowdeswell. On Thursday, July 10th Tewkesbury battle-field, Deerhurst and Whitefield

Court were visited, under the guidance of the General Secretary, and Mr. and Mrs. Strickland kindly received the members at Apperley Court.

The Society is greatly indebted to Mr. Cecil C. Moore for his successful labours as Local Secretary; to Mr. Godfrey, jun., Mr. Bannister, and the other members of the Local Committee.

On Monday, May 25th, a very enjoyable visit to Malmesbury and Sherston was arranged by our Secretary for Bristol, Mr. J. E. Pritchard, and our Editor, the Rev. C. S. Taylor; and the thanks of the Society are due to the Lord Bishop of Bristol and Mr. Brakspear for their addresses on Malmesbury Abbey Church, and to the Rev. W. Symonds for his able guidance at Sherston. The members were entertained at afternoon tea at Willesley House by Captain Lindsay Holford, C.V.O., and Mr. and Mrs. Lindsay.

The Society's Library has been open for the use of members on Tuesday afternoons during the past year, and the Society is indebted to the Honorary Librarians (Canon Bazeley and Mr. F. J. Cullis) for their attendance.

Last October the late Mrs. Royce, of Nether Swell Vicarage, made a munificent offer of her husband's archæological books to the Society's Library, to be kept as the Royce Memorial Collection, and the offer was gratefully accepted by the Council. A copy of the catalogue of these books, which was prepared by Mr. H. H. S. Colquhoun under the direction of the Hon. General Secretary, has been sent to every member, and also to the societies with whom we exchange *Transactions*; and a memoir of the late Rev. David Royce, by Canon Bazeley, has been issued with it. This year Mrs. Royce has also passed away from us. The Society now possesses an excellent library of reference on archæological subjects, which the Council hopes will be still improved by donations from the members, and will be used by them for the furtherance of those studies for which the Society was founded. Members recently elected may obtain the two catalogues of the Society's books on sending sixpence to the Librarians, Eastgate, Gloucester, for postage. Fresh gifts of slides have been given by Mr. R. Dugdale to the Loan Lantern Slide Collection founded last year. Many slides of Tewkesbury have been prepared for the Society by Mr. F. Godfrey, jun., and Mr. Bannister, and are being arranged by them. The Council will be glad to receive similar contributions from all parts of the county, and will arrange for lending the slides to the members during the forthcoming winter.

The illustrated list of Gloucestershire effigies has been making fair progress, but owing to the regretted illness of Mrs. Bagnall-Oakeley it is feared that it may be necessary to find another editor to complete the work.

The Council are happily able to report that the list of Gloucestershire

church plate is nearing completion, under the editorship of the Rev. J. T. Evans, Rector of Stow-on-the-Wold.

The excavation of Hayles Abbey, owing to the sale of the Toddington estates, has been suspended for two years. The Council has lately received an intimation from the present proprietor, Mr. Hugh Andrews, that he will be glad to give this Society every facility for renewing their researches, and he has moreover generously promised to defray the cost of labour. The thanks of the Society are due to Mr. Andrews.

At the Congress of Archæological Societies, held on July 8th at Burlington House, this Society was represented by Mr. St. Clair Baddeley, who has reported to the Council that the following subjects were discussed: (1) *Field Names*. A report was presented showing how mistakes were allowed to creep in, even in the Ordnance maps. (2) *The proposed scheme for recording the Ancient Defensive Works in England*, and the danger of their destruction by quarrying and agricultural work. (3) *The Custody of Local Records*. A suggestion was made that they should be handed over to the County Council and be preserved in a strong room. All these matters are deeply interesting to this Society, and will be discussed by this Council with a view of deciding what steps should be taken with regard to them in Gloucestershire.

The Council regrets the loss through death of the Rev. D. Royce, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society. The second volume of the Winchcombe Chartulary, which this gentleman left unfinished, has been prepared for the press by the Hon. General Secretary and the Editor of this Society, the Rev. C. S. Taylor. Mr. P. Prankerd, who was for many years a member of this Council and took a deep interest in the Society's work, died at a ripe old age last autumn. The Society has also lost by death the following members: William Adlam, F.S.A., D.L.: the Rev. J. E. A. Fenwick, M.A.; Col. Sir E. S. Hill, K.C.B.; Henry Ormerod, M.R.C.S.; and Miss S. K. Tyndall.

The Council has held five meetings during the last year, and desires to express its obligations to the Lord Mayor and Corporation of Bristol for the use of the old Council Chamber.

The Council desires to nominate the President of Council, the Vice-Presidents, the General Treasurer, the General Secretary, and the Local Secretaries for election.

The Council would take this opportunity of calling the attention of the Local Secretaries to the desirability of making the work of the Society better known in their respective districts, of asking ladies and gentlemen to become members, and of communicating to the General Secretary and Editor any discoveries of archæological interest.

The following members of Council retire by rotation, but are eligible for re-election: Messrs. T. Dyer Edwardes, E. C. Gael, H. J. Morton Ball,

James Baker, C. Bathurst, Douglas J. Wintle, E. Sydney Hartland, J. J. Simpson, and the Reverends W. T. Blathwayt and W. Symonds.

On the proposition of Mr. LE BLANC, seconded by Mr. G. M. CURRIE, the report was adopted, and members of the Council re-elected.

A vote of thanks to the Rev. E. R. Dowdeswell for the manner in which he had occupied the presidential chair during the past year, proposed by Mr. JAMES MCMURTRIE, and seconded by Dr. T. M. CARTER, was carried with enthusiasm, the retiring president suitably responding.

The Rev. E. R. DOWDESWELL then introduced the new President, Mr. Francis Hyett, J.P., of Painswick, and in doing so said the Society would have at its head this year a man who possessed great capabilities and great powers, and who had shown his capacity both as an archæologist and as a literary man. He had already done very good work for the Society, in collaboration with the General Secretary, in preparing a most interesting catalogue of the bibliography of Gloucestershire, and he had since started on a new line, and was now before the public as an historian, in his book on Florence.

Mr. HYETT, having taken the chair, thanked the members for the manner in which they had received him, and he wished to take that opportunity of thanking the Council very heartily for having elected him to the post, especially when he remembered how many there were who, both by position and personal qualifications, were far more fitted for it than himself. Mr. Hyett then delivered his presidential address on "Incidents in the Early History of Gloucester," which is printed in the present volume of the *Transactions* of the Society.

A hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Hyett for his admirable address was proposed by Mr. C. BOWLY, seconded by Rev. T. M. MIDDLEMORE-WRITHARD, and carried with acclamation.

At the close of the meeting it was resolved that a letter of thanks should be written to Mr. Hugh Andrews for the generous way in which he had met the Society with reference to the excavations at Hayles Abbey.

After luncheon the members paid a visit to the Cathedral, where they were received by the Dean, who addressed them on the history and architecture of the building. Special arrangements were made for the party to inspect the crypt, which was lighted for the occasion, and seats provided for the visitors, and here the Dean gave a most interesting lecture on crypts generally, and the Gloucester one in particular. To get the idea of the origin of crypts they must go back to the very earliest ages of Christianity. In Rome especially, when a person who had been eminent as a confessor or martyr died, and was buried, his tomb was placed where it might be visited. These were very small places at first, but as Christianity spread, many persons came to the spot where a martyr was buried, and gradually a little chapel was built over the tomb, and in the fourth century there was

a perfect passion for honouring the remains of martyrs in this way, so that everywhere on the spot where a saint was buried a chapel came to be erected over the grave. In the Middle Ages no altar was erected without a saint or the relic of a saint, or a portion of the eucharist being placed under or near it. Crypts were built to the middle of the twelfth century, and few, if any, were built after 1147. Gloucester had no great saint buried in the crypt, unless it was King Oswald, whose remains might have been laid there. They knew his body was brought to Gloucester, but there was no record of where he was buried. The Gloucester crypt was one of the most interesting in the world, though there were larger ones, but at Gloucester they had a perfect underground church. The question was, when was it built? They could not put a later date for the pillars than 1000, but whether the vaulting was original he could not say, but if it were not, it would not be later than the time of Edward the Confessor. The interior portion of the crypt was reserved for privileged pilgrims, while the ordinary pilgrims would walk round and view the relic or tomb through the "squints," and there was a staircase on the north side, by which the pilgrims ascended to the north transept.

The visitors subsequently made a tour of the Cathedral under the guidance of the Dean, who pointed out its chief architectural features.

At the conclusion of the inspection of the Cathedral, the members of the Society adjourned to Bewick House, Wotton, where they partook of afternoon tea at the invitation of Mr. and Mrs. H. W. Bruton. Following this, an opportunity was afforded them of inspecting the remains of the Chapel of the Leper House of St. Mary Magdalene, which is adjacent to Bewick House, under the guidance of Mr. H. Medland.

The annual dinner was held at the New Inn on Tuesday evening, after which the members visited the temporary museum in the Guildhall, upon which Mr. C. H. Dancey had bestowed so much care and time in getting together and arranging. It was a unique collection of wonderfully interesting exhibits, and has given the public an opportunity of seeing a thousand or more objects connected with the history of the city, which may not soon again occur.

The following is the list of articles relating to the history of the city of Gloucester which were exhibited in the Guildhall. They were arranged and described, and the notes on the portraits of city worthies were contributed by Mr. C. H. Dancey.

No. 1.—Portrait of Alderman John Cook and his wife Joan. He was a brewer, and lived in the parish of St. Mary de Crypt. He was a great benefactor to the city. When King Richard III. granted his charter to the burgesses in 1483–4, he made the mayor and aldermen justices of the peace. John Cook, or as it is sometimes written "Coke," was one of the first citizens chosen to be an alderman. He served the office

of sheriff in 1494 and 1498 and was mayor in 1501, 1507, 1512, and 1518. He left his large fortune to his wife under certain "supervisors," who were to assist her in carrying out his will; and after his death, which occurred in 1528, she piously obeyed his request "to keepe herself sole from another husband." She assumed the ring and mantle and took the vow of chastity, and became a "mourning widow." When the monasteries were dissolved, Dame Joan purchased a large portion of the estate of the Priory of Llanthony, with which she endowed the "Crypt Grammar School," which she had then just built in Southgate Street, adjoining the Crypt Church. There were also large sums of money left to maintain certain roads near Gloucester, Westgate Bridge, and the City Causeway. There are portraits of this worthy alderman and his wife in brass in the church of St. Mary de Crypt, where their bodies were buried. She survived her husband until 1544.

No. 2.—John Falkner, three times "maior" of this city, viz., 1525, 1534, and 1542. This worthy was a maker of "flat woolen caps," then in general use, and one of the staple industries in our city before pin-making was introduced here. This was another of those thoughtful citizens who left money to "keepe the roads." He left by will £20 to repair the highway between Gloucester and Tewkesbury, £20 "to the same use" on the road between Gloucester and Cheltenham, £40 to the making of Chepstow Bridge on condition that the said bridge was made and finished within a year after his death, £10 to the repair of Maisemore Bridge and the causeway belonging to the same bridge. He also left £40 to be lent to eight poor tradesmen of the parish of St. Michael for one year free of interest. This is now dealt with in another way; the interest accruing from it is given to the poor on St. Thomas' Day. He lived in Eastgate Street, on the site of the premises now occupied by Messrs. Moore Bros. His widow married William Bond, one of the sheriffs of the city whose duty it was in 1555 to superintend the burning of Bishop Hooper. He was buried in the chancel of St. Michael's Church with his first wife.

No. 3.—Sir Thomas White, of London, was the son of a clothier of Reading, born in 1492. When twelve years old he was apprenticed in London to a merchant for ten years. He served his master so well that when he died he left him £1,000. With this, and some more that he inherited from his father, he commenced business as a "merchant tailor," and amassed a large fortune, which he expended munificently. He founded St. John's College, Oxford, in 1555, and endowed it with £3,000 at his death. He left to twenty-three towns, of which Gloucester is one, £100 per annum, clear, to be lent for ten years to poor clothiers, and to continue in the same order of succession for ever. The Charity Commissioners say that Gloucester, up to 1830, had received the donation eleven times, and that a regular account was being kept of the charity.

No. 4.—Sir Thomas Bell, Knight. This was another maker of caps; he had his manufactory in the Blackfriars, which he had purchased of the Crown at the dissolution of the priory. He was a charitable man when alive, and did not forget to provide for the "poor folke" after his death. He also bought the chapel of St. Kyneburgh, which stood near the South Gate, and formerly belonged to Llanthony Priory. This building he converted into an almshouse and endowed it for "sixe poore folke." This charity now forms part of the United Hospitals, and his arms and T. B. are carved over one of the entrance doorways of St. Margaret's in the London Road. This portrait is good, and must have been painted when he was young, probably when he was mayor for the first time, in 1536. This office he also held in 1544 and 1553. He lived in the church of the Blackfriars; in the other parts he employed a large number of hands, thus by his presence and influence encouraging thrift as against idleness and poverty. He died May 26th, 1566; she died June 12th, 1567.

No. 5.—William Goldstone, by his will dated 2nd August, 1569, gave to the mayor and burgesses of Gloucester certain tenements, lands, and gardens situate in the parish of St. Oswald, in the suburbs of the said city, for the use of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, subject to a lease to his brother for 100 years, but reserving the old rent. There is nothing certain now known about this charity.

No. 6.—Jaene Goldstone, whose will is dated September 8th, 1578 She gave £20 to remain as a perpetual stock for the provision of "fewel" for the poor. The Commissioners say that the Corporation expend considerable sums of money every year in coals for the poor, by which they consider themselves as inclusively satisfying this charity. She gave also £13 to the repair of Maisemore Bridge, and her body to be buried in the church of St. Owen. She is supposed to have been the widow of William Goldstone.

No. 7.—Thomas Poulton, by his will, gave to the mayor and burgesses of Gloucester the sum of £60 as a fund to be employed for the help of poor young tradesmen and decayed persons. This money was lent to one Henry Clark in 1670. The books say that the money was out on loan in 1793, since which time there is no mention made of it.

No. 8.—John Heyden was an alderman and sheriff of London, and died in 1583. By his will he gave to the Mayor and Commonalty of Gloucester the sum of £100 upon trust to deliver the same unto two young men of the said city, being merchants trading over the seas, viz.: to either of them the sum of £50, to use for their best profit and advantage for the space of four years next after the receipt thereof. They were to give sureties and pay the interest at the rate of £3 6s. 8d. per annum, which interest was to be disposed of for the relief of poor prisoners within the city gaol; this loan is mentioned in 1673. The Corporation used to pay

an annual sum to the debtors in the city prison, which included this interest. There is nothing known of the connection of this person with Gloucester.

No. 9.—Gregory Willshire, who by his will dated 8th September, 1585, gave to the chamber of this city for ever £100, to be lent to five clothiers of the city: unto each of them £20 for ten years together, requiring good security; and also one gallon of wine at the mayor's banquet on the day of his election. This money is reduced by failure of repayment, and there is no account of the wine being now forthcoming.

No. 10.—Richard Pate is supposed to be represented by this picture. He was recorder of the city in 1556, and one of the representatives of Parliament in the reigns of Philip and Mary and Elizabeth. He was a man of great importance in his time, being a commissioner under Henry VIII. and Edward VI. for surveying all the religious houses in Gloucester, Bristol, and other places; he purchased many of the properties of these monasteries, and made good use of his riches in founding a grammar school in Cheltenham, and in enriching St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and other charities in this city. Many of these gifts were of terminable interest and have long since expired. He lived at Minsterworth until his death in 1583, when his body was buried in the south transept of our Cathedral. His monument recorded his good deeds, but it is now, alas! in a wretched state of neglect.

No. 11.—Isabell Wetherstone (?) This is probably intended for Isabelle Wytherington, who is mentioned as having left £2 per annum. This was probably dealt with as was the benefaction of Jaene Goldstone.

No. 12.—John Thorne, alderman of ye city of Gloucester, and once mayor of the said city. He gave a silver bason and ewer to pass from maior to maior for ever, and gave to the poore of St. Nicholas yerely for ever vi$^{s}$. viii He$^{e}$ gave for a sermon to be preached in the same church once every yeare a$^{l}$so vi$^{s}$. viii$^{d}$.

This bequest was payable at Lady Day in each year out of Thorns Mill. This was the second mill on the river Twyver, and was near the end of India House Lane. This man was a brewer by trade; he died March 4th, 1617. The price of the "basson and yewer" was XXX*l*. These pieces of plate were exchanged away for two dozen spoons in 1818, as is shown by an inscription on the said spoons.

No. 13.—Charles Howard, born 1746, succeeded his father as Duke of Norfolk in 1786, and was Recorder of Gloucester in 1792—1815. He married secondly the heiress of Charles Fitzroy Scudamore, of Holme Lacy, Herefordshire. The Scudamores held much property in and near this city, which had once belonged to the Priory of Llanthony. This in part was held by the Duke by right of the Duchess. He held the office of mayor of this city three times, the last being 1815, when he died. His

residence was in the Westgate Street, near Swan Lane, where the old house is to be partly seen still. His portrait was painted by Lonsdale, 1816, and presented to Gloucester by Henry Howard Molyneux, M.P. for this city until he succeeded to the title of Duke of Norfolk, 13th.

No. 14.—William Frederick, Duke of Gloucester, born at Rome 15th June, 1776. He was styled Prince William of Gloucester until his father's death on August 25th, 1805, when he succeeded to the Dukedom of Gloucester and Edinburgh and the Earldom of Connaught. As he was only great grandson of George II. he was not allowed the style of Royal Highness until 1816. He entered the army as a captain in 1789, and field marshal in 1816. His marriage with Mary, the fourth daughter of George III., took place on 23rd July, 1816. There was no issue by this marriage. He died 30th November, 1834, and was interred in St. George's Chapel, Windsor. His Duchess died at Gloucester House, Park Lane, on April 30th, 1857, and was buried at Windsor.

These fourteen portraits are the property of the citizens of Gloucester.

DUKES OF GLOUCESTER.

Henry, son of Charles I.; died 13th September, 1660.

William, Duke of Gloucester; died in youth.

BISHOPS.

John Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester and Worcester, 1550-1555; burnt. Rev. S. R. Robertson.

Joseph Wilcocks, Bishop of Gloucester, 1721-1731. Mr. C. H. Dancey.

George Isaac Huntingford, Bishop of Gloucester, 1802-1815. Ditto,

Honourable Henry Ryder, Bishop of Gloucester, 1815-1824. Ditto.

PORTRAITS.

DEANS.

Lawrence Humphrey, 1570-1580; removed to Winchester. Mr. C. H. Dancey.

Josiah Tucker, Dean of Gloucester, 1758-1799; buried in Cathedral. Ditto.

OTHER WORTHIES.

Sir Thomas White, Lord Mayor of London, 1554. He was a great benefactor to the city (see previous account). Ditto.

John Taylor, "The Water Poet"; born at Gloucester about 1580; died 1650. He was a favourite of the Court of Charles II. His poems are somewhat quaint, but not without merit. Ditto.

George Whitfield, born 1714, at the Bell Hotel, in this city; died 1770. A well-known preacher of the eighteenth century. Ditto.

Edward Jenner, the discoverer of vaccination. Proof by Wm. Hobday. Engraved by Wm. Skelton. 1826. Ditto.

Robert Raikes, born 1735; died 1811. Founder of Sunday Schools and Editor of *Gloucester Journal*. Ditto.

Samuel Lysons, born at Rodmarton, 1763; died 1819. Mezzotint by S. W. Reynolds, after Sir T. Lawrence. Proof in early state touched by the artist. Mr. H. W. Bruton.

Charles I. in his robes. By Sir Robert Strange, after Vandyke. Ditto.

Charles I. in armour. By W. Faithorne. Ditto.

Oliver Cromwell. By J. Faber, after Sir P. Lely. First state of the plate before the date 1735 was altered to 1736. Ditto.

(Cromwell was Lord High Steward of Gloucester.)

Ralph Bigland, historian of Gloucestershire, in herald's robe and collar. By C. Townley, after R. Brompton. Ditto

Henry VIII. and five of his wives. Mr. T. W. G. Cooke.

Queen Anne and her husband. Ditto.

## ENGRAVINGS AND DRAWINGS.

North-west Prospect of Gloucester. (*Buck.*) Mr. C. H. Dancey.

West Prospect of Gloucester. (*Kyp.*) Ditto.

Plan of Gloucester City. (*Kyp.*) Ditto.

Gloucester Cross. (*Ricketts.*) Ditto.

James Wood's House, Westgate Street. Ditto.

Blackfriars Monastery. Ditto

Entry of Bromley Chester into the City. Ditto.

New Inn, Gloucester. (*Bartlett.*) Ditto.

Sketch of the South Gate. (*Dingley.*) Ditto.

Seal of Isabell, Countess of Gloucester. Ditto.

The Grey Fryers, by *Stukeley* and engraved by *Kirkdale*. Ditto.

Figure in Gloucester Cathedral, on glass. Ditto.

Gloucester Cross (another view). Ditto.

Photograph of Abbot Seabroke's Crozier. It was found in the coffin when opened in 1741. Ditto.

Prentice Bracelet; and Knocker at St. Nicholas Church. Ditto.

St. John's Church, Gloucester. By *Bonnor*. (Very rare.) Ditto.

Two Sheets of Heraldry relating to the Forest of Dean. (*Niblett.*) Ditto.

Black Fryers in Gloucester, 1721. Ditto.

Nine Views of Gloucester Cathedral. By *Bonnor*. Ditto

St. Magdalen's Church. Mr. H. Medland

Scriven's Conduit and King's Board. Ditto.

King's Board; drawing, showing supposed original state. Ditto.

West Gate of St. Peter's Abbey; measured drawing. Ditto

Blackfriars; plan, drawing of dormitory, and ambulatory, and photograph of cubicle. Ditto.

St. Mary de Crypt; photo of Easter Sepulchre. Ditto.

Caerwent; two photos of wall. Ditto.

The Westgate, Gloucester; a pen-and-Ink and pencil drawing, by *Samuel Lysons*, and the engraving of the bridge; the drawing exhibiting a greater length of the bridge including the drawbridge. Mr. H. W. Bruton

St. Bartholomew's Hospital, Gloucester; the original drawing and etching of the same. By *S. Lysons*. Ditto.

The Castle, Gloucester; a drawing by *S. Lysons*, not engraved. Ditto.

Holograph Letter of Ralph Bigland, dated August, 1775, to his son. Ditto.

Receipt given by S. Rudder to Richard Bigland for the subscription deposit for his *History of Gloucestershire*. Ditto.

Signature of James Wood, on a deed, November 11th, 1826. Ditto.

Plan of the City of Gloucester, by *Kyp*. Ditto.

The West Prospect of the City, by *Kyp*. Ditto.

Railway Time Table, dated May 12th, 1845, to Stroud. James Bruton.

An Act of Parliament (bright clean copy) for supplying the City of Gloucester with fresh water. Ditto.

Interior of Choir of Cathedral. *(Carter.)* Mr. H. A. Dancey.

Two coloured Maps of the County, dated 1577. Mr. C. H. Dancey.

Gloucester Cathedral, portion of Interior. Mr. T. W. G. Cooke.

### ANTIQUARIAN AND OTHER OBJECTS.

A case of tracts relating to the siege of Gloucester and the Civil War; some of great rarity. Mr. C. H. Dancey.

Fifteen deeds relating to the Tanners' Guild in Gloucester, also two flags belonging to these Brethren. Mr. Franklin Higgs.

A case of Roman antiquities—fibulæ, buckles, coins, &c.—found at Gloucester. Mr. C. H. Dancey.

A Roman spear-head (bronze) from Kingsholm. Ditto.

Surgical probe (bronze). Ditto.

Early English dagger found at Highnam. Ditto.

Old oak, carved, from the New Inn. Ditto.

Carved spandril from the Ram Inn, Southgate Street. Ditto.

Carved oak from Westgate Street. Ditto.

Stained glass from the old Bishop's Palace. Ditto.

Twenty pieces of ancient stained glass. Ditto.

A case of rare Roman gold and bronze coins (see case). Ditto.

A cast of the sanctuary knocker on St. Nicholas' Church door. Ditto.

An iron branck, formerly used for the punishment of quarrelsome and brawling women, found in a vault under a house in Northgate Street, apparently part of an underground passage in the direction of the New Inn and the Cathedral. The part marked A was inserted in the mouth, one

metal ring passed round each side of the jaw to the back of the head. The nose came between the upright bars, and the conjoint bar went over the head where, with the other ring, it was fastened by a padlock. The ring in front was for fastening a rope by which the offender was led about. These instruments appear to have been in common use up to the time of the Commonwealth. Mr. E. Granville Baker.

A carved oak frame containing three plaques of silver enamel, connected with the city of Gloucester. No. 1. The arms of Sir Thomas Bell, Knight, "benefactor to the city." No. 2. The arms of the city of Gloucester. No. 3. The Arms of —— Mayor impaling the arms of Gloucester. It also contains the city arms and insignia, carved in box-wood, copied from "Dorney's" illustration, dated 1653, and the ducal coronet with the four maces. Mr. C. H. Dancey.

An old method of lighting a candle. Ditto.

An old large map of Rome, dated MDLXXIIII. Ditto.

An old horse cloth, bearing arms upon it and crests. Ditto.

Altar frontal on silk. Ditto.

Crucible with glass in it. Ditto.

Two small tiles with letters thereon. Ditto

Lace cap, made at Hartpury. Ditto.

Portrait of Lysons the antiquary, carved in box-wood. Ditto.

Six pewter plates, used by the boys at the Old Blue Coat Hospital. Ditto.

Roman amphora or wine vessel. Ditto.

A case of Gloucester tokens (12). Ditto.

Two old pistols. Ditto.

Four small cases of Samian ware found at Eastgate House. Mr. Bellows.

Roman lamp from Kingsholm. Mr. H. Medland.

Roman pavement from Friars' Orchard. Ditto.

Woodwork from Old Tolsey. Ditto.

Scrivens' Conduit, plaster casts of panels representing some of the industries of the county of Gloucester. Ditto.

Old stone ornament found at Kingsholm Close. Mr. H. A. Dancey.

Large cinerary urn found near Robinswood Hill. Mr. Johnson Vaughan.

Model, George Ridler sitting on an oven. Ditto.

Last bell cast in "Rudhall's" foundry; upon it are the names of the men that cast it. Ditto.

A collection of bronze ornaments found in Gloucester. Ditto.

Six pieces of carved oak. Mr. C. H. Dancey.

Two pieces of carved oak, dated 1620. Ditto

RARE BOOKS.

Old Bible, 1610, with oak covers. Mr. C. H. Dancey.

Edward VI.'s Booke of Common Prayer, 1552. First issue of the second edition. This copy contains the rare initial letter. Ditto.

Fosbrooke's Folio History of the City of Gloucester. This copy belonged to the late Judge Powell, who added to it many items of local interest and great rarity. Ditto.

Book of paintings of heraldry, etc., upon the case of Gloucester Cathedral organ. Ditto.

"Dorney Speeches," with the arms of the mayors emblazoned thereon. Ditto.

Corbet's History of the Siege of Gloucester. On the inside of cover are these words: "Hugh Massie his Booke." This person was the brother of Colonel Massie, the governor of the garrison. Ditto.

Robinson's Architectural Antiquities (2 copies). Ditto.

The earliest Guide Book of Gloucester, date 1792. Ditto.

The Last Trial by Jury for Atheism in England (Holyoake). Ditto.

Observations on a picture in Gloucester Cathedral. "Scharf." Ditto.

Translation of the Charter of Gloucester. Edward Bayliss, 1768. Ditto.

Lysons' (Samuel). Collection of Gloucestershire antiquities. A complete set of the plates—the cancelled edition and the re-issue and other plates—a presentation copy from the author to Mr. Simcoe, the bookseller, of Piccadilly. Mr. H. W. Bruton.

Bigland (Ralph). Historical, monumental, and genealogical collections relative to the county of Gloucester. A complete set of proofs of the plates, including those illustrating the portion of the work he did not live to complete. Ditto.

Bishop Hooper, his first printed book. Ditto

OIL PAINTINGS.

The reply of the Corporation of Gloucester to the demand of Charles I. that they should surrender the city to him, delivered by Toby Jordan (Mayor of Gloucester, 1660) and Sergeant-Major Pudsey. The principal figures are the King, the Prince of Wales (Charles II.), James, Duke of York (James II.), the Rev W. Chillingworth, and the messengers from the city. The interview took place August 10th, 1643, in Tredworth Fields. The picture was painted by Mr. Dowling, a native of Gloucester, and presented to the city (and hangs in the Tolsey) by his Honour Judge Powell, M.P. for Gloucester 1862–4.

The Talbot Inn. Painted and exhibited by Mrs. Oscar Clark.

Old Houses in Hare Lane. Ditto.

Lower Barton Mill (Brown's Mill). Ditto.

St. Catherine's Knapp. Ditto.

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| Old India House, | Exhibited by Mr. C. H. Dancey. |
| Bull Lane. | Mr. Vassar-Smith. |
| Old picture of the New Inn. | Mr. H. Berry. |

WATER-COLOUR DRAWINGS.

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|---|---|
| Brown's Mill. | Exhibited by Mr. C. H. Dancey. |
| St. Oswald's Priory. This Saxon edifice was badly knocked about at the time of the siege. | Painted and exhibited by Mrs. T. S. Ellis. |
| St. Mary Magdalene Church. | Ditto. |
| A Barn at Llanthony Abbey. | Ditto. |
| Doorway in barn at Llanthony Abbey. | Ditto. |
| Gateway at Llanthony Abbey. | Ditto. |
| Palace-yard with Parliament Chamber. | Miss M. Burrup. |
| College Street. | Ditto. |
| College Court. | Ditto. |
| The Lavatory. | Ditto. |
| Inside the Lavatory. | Ditto. |
| The Crypt. | Ditto. |
| Entrance from Cloisters to the Cathedral. | Ditto. |
| The Cathedral. | Miss A. Waddy. |
| Entrance to Lady Chapel. | Ditto. |
| The Choir. | Dtito. |

GLOUCESTER CANDLESTICK.

This specimen of early metal work is a splendid example of artistic craftsmanship. It consists of a pillar divided into three compartments by bosses, and supporting a patera or cup. The base is triangular, and the whole is enriched with the figures of forty-two monsters (depicting various vices?) in grotesque attitudes and struggling with nine naked human figures. The candlestick is about 16 inches high and 6 inches across the base. On one of the ribbons twisted round the pillar is recorded, "The devotion of Abbot Peter and of his gentle flock gave me to the church of St. Peter, Gloucester" (1104–1113). There is another inscription engraved on the inside of the cup which says, "Thomas of Poché enriched with this the church property of the district of Mans" (in Normandy). The Government gave £680 for it, and placed it in the South Kensington Museum.

INTERESTING RELIC OF BISHOP HOOPER'S MARTYRDOM.

A light pocket mace with very interesting historical associations. It is of brass and 9 inches long; the four bows are cruciform, and upon the bottom of the butt is a shield bearing the arms of the City of London The ornamentation is of fine proportions and excellent workmanship. This mace was given to the soldiers who were sent with Bishop Hooper

from London to Gloucester as their authority on the journey. The relic was found during some alterations at the house in Westgate Street where he slept the night before his execution in St. Mary's Square (then one of the market-places of the city). Rev. S. R. Robertson.

PORTRAITS, &c.

*Exhibited by Canon Bazeley.*

Illustrating the connection of Matson and the Selwyns with Gloucester.

(1) General William Selwyn, Governor of Jamaica, proprietor of Matson 1679—1702, M.P. for Gloucester 1698—1702 *B. & G. A. S. Trans.*, ii. 261.

(2) Albinia Selwyn, widow of General William Selwyn, patron of George Whitfield, rebuilder of Matson Church, mother of Col. John Selwyn. *Trans.*, ii. 262-264.

(3) Col. John Selwyn, proprietor of Matson 1702-1742, M.P. for Gloucester 1727–1749, mayor 1727 and 1733, grantor of water supply from Mattesdune. *Trans.*, ii. 264.

(4) John Selwyn, eldest son of Col. John Selwyn, died 1749.

(5) George Augustus Selwyn, son of Col. John Selwyn, proprietor of Matson 1749–1791, M.P. for Gloucester 1745–1780, mayor 1758 and 1765. *Trans.*, ii. 268.

(6) Mrs. Mary Selwyn, wife of Col. John Selwyn. *Trans.*, ii. 264.

(7) A seventeenth-century spoon found at Matson in 1897: a relic of Charles I,'s stay at Matson House, 1643.

(8) Matson Church, as rebuilt by Albinia Selwyn

(9) Copy of old picture of Gloucester from Vineyard Hill, at Matson House, showing Matson Church before it was rebuilt in 1739.

RELICS OF ROMAN AND MEDIÆVAL GLOUCESTER, &c., &c.

*Exhibited by Canon Bazeley.*

(1) Roman horseshoes found at Gloucester and in the Roman Camp on Haresfield Beacon.

(2) Mediæval and later horseshoes.

(3) Old Gloucester keys.

(4) Four Roman lamps and bottle for unguents (Christian).

(5) Cast of I.H.S. from Chedworth Roman Villa; Samian pottery with potter's mark "VICTO.R F" found at Gloucester; and Samian pottery found in Haresfield Camp.

(6) Stag's horn found in Haresfield Camp.

(7) Bottle made in the Glass-house, Gloucester, by Lloyd of Wheatenhurst, early in the seventeenth century.

(8) Portraits of Raikes and Stock, with cottage in which the first Sunday School was held. Lowentam after Dowling, 1830.

(9) Norman piers found at Llanthony Priory, 1847.

(10) Arms of Llanthony Priory, Mayor's Chapel, Bristol.

(11) Arms of Llanthony Priory from Bromsberrow.

(12) Arms of Llanthony Priory from Flaxley.

(13) Plantagenet badge from windows of cloisters, Gloucester Cathedral. There were seven examples there before the "restoration."

(14) Edward IV.'s badge from Lady Chapel.

(15) Edward's II.'s badge from Lady Chapel floor-tile.

(16) Set of Abbot Seabroke's tiles in presbytery.

(17) Leaden chalice found in the coffin of an ecclesiastic at Notgrove supposed to be that of William Parker, last Abbot of Gloucester.

(18) No. 154 Westgate Street—side facing Maverdine Lane. Sketch by F. W. Waller, 1877.

(19) Relics of Old Gloucester, drawn by the late Mr. J. Niblett, of Haresfield Court.

(20) Bronze axe-head and spear of the prehistoric age found near Gloucester.

The programme arranged for Wednesday was a very lengthy one, involving the inspection of the majority of the famous old houses, archæological remains, and churches of Gloucester. A start was made at the Guildhall at ten o'clock, when a fair number of the members of the Society, presided over by Mr. F. A. Hyett, listened to an instructive address upon "Old Gloucester" by the Rev. Canon BAZELEY, the Hon. General Secretary. He said he desired to go back upon first principles and tell them what Leland said about Gloucester. It was astonishing how, in the middle of the sixteenth century, a man could move about from one part of England to another and gain such accurate knowledge of places and persons and things, not only which existed in his time, but which had existed hundreds of years before. By reference to a large ancient map of the city and Leland's text, with the assistance of Mr. C. H. Dancey, the speaker gave some interesting antiquarian particulars connected with the old city walls, the Cathedral, the parish churches, the quay, and other historic features of "Old Gloucester." He also touched upon the various monasteries, hospitals, and almshouses which from time to time had existed in Gloucester, of which in many cases remains are still to be seen. He referred to the legends and stories which existed in local history with regard to the performance of miracles, and to the various saints who had been buried in Gloucester. Adverting to the martyrs who were associated with the city, he spoke of the story of a boy, Harold, alleged to have been crucified by the Jews in derision of our Lord, found in the Severn. The body was buried in the crypt of the Cathedral, and miracles were alleged to have been wrought in consequence. St. Arilda was also buried in the crypt of the Cathedral.

At the conclusion of the address thanks were tendered to Canon Bazeley upon the motion of the PRESIDENT, who said he had heard their Secretary described as the backbone of the Society, but he might add that Canon Bazeley also supplied it with a large share of its muscle and brain.

Canon BAZELEY, in reply, said whatever little he had done for the Society was to him a labour of love.

The members then proceeded to St. Nicholas' Church, which was described by Mr. H. Medland, and the party viewed with interest the Norman doorway, the sanctuary knocker, and the fine Jacobean gallery front, and interesting monuments of citizens which ornament the church. The party then directed their steps to St. Mary's Square and inspected Bishop Hooper's monument, and by the kind permission of the vicar (the Rev. S. R. Robertson) St. Mary de Lode Church. A move was then made to the remains of the conventual church of St. Oswald's Priory, which were described by Mr. H. Medland. By permission of the Lord Bishop, the Palace was next visited, and subsequently the ruined infirmary of St. Peter's Abbey, under the guidance of the Hon. General Secretary, who said the Bishop regretted very much that he was not at the Palace to receive them.

After luncheon the members examined St. Mary de Crypt, and notes on the history of the church were read by Mr. C. H. Dancey. The Blackfriars were inspected, and by permission of Mr. R. J. Talbot the ancient dormitory was viewed. The Greyfriars were also seen, and described by the Rev. W. H. Silvester Davies.

An invitation to afternoon tea by the President and Mrs. Hyett at the Judge's Lodgings proved an acceptable item on the programme. Subsequently some of the party, accompanied by Mr. W. St. Clair Baddeley, went to see the remains of Llanthony Priory, while others paid a visit to the Museum in Brunswick Road, under the guidance of Mr. G. H. Dutton. Parties were also formed under the guidance of Dr. Oscar Clark and Mr. G. Sheffield Blakeway, and a visit paid to some of the old houses of Gloucester which still remain intact.

On Wednesday evening the members were received at the Guildhall at a conversazione by the Mayor and Mayoress. The company numbered about one hundred, and after their reception by his Worship and Mrs. Hartland they proceeded into the large assembly hall—which had been tastefully set out as a drawing-room for the occasion—and seated themselves to listen to the reading of papers on archæological subjects. The first paper was by Mr. W. St. CLAIR BADDELEY, entitled "The Two Llanthony Priories of Monmouthshire and Gloucester," which was printed in volume xxv. of our *Transactions*.

At the close of Mr. Baddeley's paper a vote of thanks was proposed by the President, and heartily carried. The company were then invited

by his Worship and Mrs. Hartland to adjourn to the Bow Committee Room, where refreshments of a most *recherché* character had been provided, under the superintendence of the custodian (Mr. Barnes) and his wife.

After the adjournment Mr. HENRY MEDLAND gave an interesting paper on "The Ancient Butter Market of Gloucester, now at Tibberton Court," illustrated by numerous lantern slides. Mr. Medland said the remains of the elegant and ornate little building, which now stands in the pleasure grounds of Tibberton Court, whence it was removed from its original position in Westgate-street by an Act of George II., indicate that the complete edifice was a building dating from the conclusion of the fourteenth century. This would be in accordance with the tradition that it was given to the city by Richard II. Mr. Medland proceeded to describe the building at length, exhibiting on the screen a drawing he had made representing the complete edifice. He remarked that the building was in such a good state of preservation that he felt inclined to think that a very considerable amount of it must have been re-worked at the time when it was rebuilt at Tibberton. In discussing the question what was the original use of this distinctly ecclesiastical structure, Mr. Medland expressed his opinion that it was built for use as a preaching cross, or as a chapel wherein public celebrations of the Mass might be held. The small size of the building precluded the supposition that it could have originally been intended for a market-place.

Mr. H. W. BRUTON, in the absence of the President, proposed a very hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Medland for his capital paper. Canon Bazeley also added a few eulogistic remarks.

The final item of the programme was the delivery of an address upon "The Life and Writings of Ralph Bigland," by Mr. H. W. BRUTON. Mr. Bruton gave an interesting sketch of the life of Bigland, whose name is familiar to all as the author of historical, monumental, and genealogical collections relative to the county of Gloucester. Posterity, Mr. Bruton remarked, owed a debt of gratitude to Bigland for having undertaken such a wearisome and monotonous task. By the courtesy of Messrs. Chance and Bland he (Mr. Bruton) had been permitted to refer to the files of the *Gloucester Journal*, and in the issue of April 5th, 1784, Bigland's death is thus alluded to: "On Saturday, the 27th ult., died at his apartments in the College of Arms, Ralph Bigland, Senr., Esq., Garter, Principal King of Arms, a gentleman of the strictest integrity and amiable character, arduous and skilful in the duties of the office; in testimony whereof the records of the College of Arms do and will for ages to come afford ample and honourable proof." In the issue of Saturday, April 12th, following a description of the funeral, is this note: "We sincerely hope that the world will not be deprived of the large and valuable collections of the

monumental inscriptions, etc., relative to this county made by the above gentleman."

In the loan collection in the temporary museum the Misses Hayward, of Eastington, kindly lent Ralph Bigland's robes as Garter, and the bill of his funeral expenses. The account comprised fifty-one items, which reached the respectable total of £224 6s. Among other Bigland relics exhibited by Mr. H. W. Bruton was a portrait of Bigland in herald's robe and collar; a holograph letter of Bigland to his son, dated August, 1775, and historical, monumental, and genealogical collections relative to the county of Gloucester; a complete set of proofs of the plates, including those illustrating the portion of the work Bigland did not live to complete. Mrs. Graham-Clarke, of Frocester Manor, lent five impressions in wax of Bigland's seal as Garter, and also a specimen plate of his porcelain service on which the Bigland arms had been painted.

The thanks of the meeting to Mr. Bruton for his contribution to the series of "most valuable papers" which had been delivered was expressed by the Rev. Canon Bazeley.

During the evening the following votes of thanks were most cordially adopted:—

(1) To the Mayor and Corporation of Gloucester for the use of the Guildhall, and for their courteous welcome to this ancient city.

(2) To the Mayor and Mayoress of Gloucester, to the President and Mrs. Hyett, and to Mr. Wheatley Cobbs, for their generous hospitality at the Guildhall, the Judges' Lodgings, and Caldicot Castle respectively.

(3) To the Dean and Chapter for permission to visit the Cathedral; to the Bishop for his kindness in allowing the members to see the ancient Abbots' Hall; to the Incumbents of St. Nicholas, St. Mary de Lode, and St. Mary de Crypt, Gloucester, and of Mathern, Caldicot and Caerwent, and their Churchwardens, for allowing the members to see their interesting churches.

(4) To the owners of the Blackfriars, Greyfriars, Llanthony Priory, Ancient Palace of the Bishops of Llandaff, Moyne's Court, Mathern, and Caldicot Castle, and also other various ancient and interesting houses in Gloucester visited by the members.

(5) To the Dean of Gloucester, Mr. Medland, Mr. C. H. Dancey, Rev. W. H. Silvester Davies, Dr. Oscar Clarke, Mr. G. Sheffield Blakeway, Mr. St. Clair Baddeley, Mr. Ashby, Mr. A. E. Hudd, and A. T. Martin for their invaluable services as guides to the various places of interest.

(6) To Mr. H. T. Bruton, Local Secretary; the Town Clerk, and the chairman and members of the Local Committee for the excellent way in which the arrangements for the meeting have been prepared and carried out; and Mr. Godfrey, Local Secretary of Chepstow, for his assistance in the expedition to Caerwent.

(7) To Mr. C. H. Dancey and those who have assisted him in preparing the very excellent loan museum, and to those who have lent the exhibits.

(8) To the General Secretary for the admirable programme which he prepared, and for the successful carrying out of the programme.

(9) To the Cambrian Archæological Society for the use of the plates of Caerwent and Caldicot Churches and Chepstow Castle, from *Archæologia Cambrensis*.

(10) That the choice of places of meeting for 1904 and the nomination of a President be left to the Council.

Some ninety members took tickets for Thursday's excursion to Chepstow, Mathern, Caldicot, and the old Roman city of Caerwent, with which the programme of the meeting concluded. Notwithstanding that the morning was wet, a good number attended, the members from Gloucester travelling to Chepstow, where carriages were taken for Mathern, and they were joined here by a party from Bristol, who arrived *viâ* the Severn Tunnel.

The members were received at the Church of St. Teudric, Mathern, by the Rev. Watkin Davies, and a look around the sacred edifice was much enjoyed. This church was rebuilt by John Marshal, Bishop of Llandaff, 1478–1496. The original church occupied a different site; one of its square pillars remains at the west end of the north arcade of the nave, and the base of another was found in 1881 twelve feet to the north-west. On either side of the chancel arch is a hagioscope or squint, and above it three grooves which mark the position of the rood screen. There are also two openings high up that need explanation.

The Rev. WATKIN DAVIES pointed out some of the principal features in the church, including the old glass in the west window of the south aisle and the old corbels on which the rood loft was raised. The two openings in the chancel, he said, had puzzled archæologists, and the most probable explanation was that it was a portion of a church built between the original one in 600 and another in 1200. The inscription in the chancel was an interesting one, and was to Teudric, a king of those parts, who died from wounds received in battle, and directed that the church might be erected there. That was about the year 600. A stone coffin was found beneath this tablet when the church was restored in 1881.

By the kind permission of Mr. H. Avery Tipping, the party were able to visit the ancient Palace of former bishops of Llandaff, which adjoins the church. This ancient Palace is said to have been built by two of the bishops of Llandaff; the tower, porch, and other parts of the north and north-east portion by John de la Zouch, 1408–1423; and the chapel hall, kitchen, and adjoining apartments by Miles Salley, 1500-1516. The principal hall was 32 ft. by 16 ft., and 20 ft. in height. The chapel, when undivided, was 80 ft. by 10 ft. The party were especially charmed with the old-world garden which is attached to the remains, which are utilised as a private residence. A short walk brought the party to Moyne's Court, a fine specimen of an Elizabethan house, with a gate-house flanked by two turrets. It was built by Francis Godwin, Bishop of Llandaff, 1601-1617, on his own land, and handed on by him to his descendants. Godwin wrote *A Catalogue of the Bishops of England* 1601, better known from its Latin edition, *De Præsulibus Angliæ Commentarius*, 1616. On visiting the interior some fine specimens of embroidery were shown the visitors.

The following notes on the heraldry at Mathern Church and Moyne's Court were kindly contributed by Mr. F. Were.

### Mathern Church.

In the west window of the south aisle, middle light, is a collection of old stained glass joined together, but which apparently was originally framed in a trellis-work of branches or stem of a tree, as each shield is surrounded by the pattern. The top quarry contains the Holy Father crowned with amulet and diadem, seated on clouds finely radiated; below, the Holy Dove volant affrontée radiated all round; alongside is the scourging pillar between two scourges, whilst at the sides are two horizontal quarries of the three feathers. Below these are three shields: (1) "Sable a chevron between three wings in lure stringed (really hawks' lures) argent," *Madoc ap Raen*; (2) "Or a hawk's ure as above"; (3) "Argent a chevron between three sprigs, having a pair of jagged leaves on each side and a lump at the top erect sable," *query* (they may be holly, oak, or possibly the teazels of Bowden). Below are quarries filled with what looks like four strands of rope looped together in the middle, these may be part of the framing trellis-work; also a finely executed bird with smooth head, short tail, and long legs which make it like a landrail, tinctured a rich brown; possibly intended to represent the Mathew crest heathcock. Mural, S. wall: "Sable a chevron between three fleurs-de-lys or," *Hughes*, 1671 (the escutcheon margin was so broad it looked almost like a bordure). Crest: On helmet on wreath, arm in armour holding a fleur-de-lys. On south side of tower two shields: "Per chevron (or and azure) in chief a falcon displayed sable [in Bedford's

*Blazon of Episcopacy* this falcon is given rising and dexterways], in base a black letter M argent," *Marshall*. John was Bishop of Llandaff 1478-96. On west side *Marshall* impaled with *See of Llandaff*; also a figure holding a shield which seemed to be charged with a mill rind.

MOYNE'S COURT.

Over porch, a very daubed shield, all azure and vert fields, dated 1609, really, "Sable two pastoral staves in saltire dexter or sinister argent, on a chief azure three mitres with labels of the second," *See of Llandaff*, impaling really "Or two lions passant gules, on a canton sable three plates," *Godwin*. Francis Bishop of Llandaff, 1601-1617. On fireplace in tapestry room, painted, "Or a lion rampant guardant sable," *Lewis*, impaling quarterly, 1 and 4, "Gules three cinquefoils pierced 2 and 1 argent," *Lambert*; 2 and 3, "Argent two chevrons," *Staunton*. Crest: On wreath a griffin sepeant sable. Motto: "HA PERSA LA FIDE, LA PERSO L'HONORE," "He who hath lost his faith hath lost his honour."

After luncheon at Caldicot a drive was taken to Caerwent, and before inspecting the excavations a short visit was made to the parish church, where the vicar received the Society and gave them details about this, one of the most beautiful of the Monmouthshire churches. The first church built on the site is supposed to have been in the sixth century, but only a fragment of this remains, this being a sculptured stone, which is on view in the churchyard, and appears to be Dundry stone. The date of the present church is unknown, but an arcade in the chancel was very much the same pattern as Roman work. Two interesting arches, with no capitals but pinched in at the bottom, were pointed out, and also a fine Jacobean pulpit of the date 1638.

The chief object of interest on the day's excursion was, of course, the Roman city of Caerwent, the Venta Silurum. The following notes on Caerwent were very kindly contributed to the *programme* by Mr. A. T. Martin, Treasurer of the Excavation Fund.

Caerwent, the Venta Silurum of the Antonine Itinerary, or the Civitas Silurum, according to the inscription which has lately been discovered, is situated on the high-road between Newport and Chepstow. It was a walled city of rectangular plan, and the walls, of which a large portion are still standing, enclose a space of between 40 and 50 acres. It is therefore about half the size of Silchester. A house and some baths of great interest were excavated in 1855 by the late Mr. Octavius Morgan. The present excavations were begun in 1900, and are now in progress. Two different parts of the city are being explored at the same time; viz., the field south-west of the church, called the Copses, where permission to dig has been granted by the trustees of the late Mr. John Lysaght, and by the tenant, Mr. Till, and some fields near the North Gate, which have been

bought for the purpose by Lord Tredegar, who is also most generously defraying the expense of this part of the work.

In the former part—the Copses—a field of about 9 acres, the results so far are mainly the complete exploration of three unusually fine and interesting houses—houses III, IV., and VII.—which differ in plan in some important respects from those found at Silchester. These houses are all of the courtyard type, but they are differentiated from those of a similar type at Silchester by the fact that all four sides of the courtyard

THE ROMAN WALL, CAERWENT.
*Mr. Clark, Photo.*

are surrounded by rooms. House III. is of special interest, as the courtyard was surrounded by an ambulatory paved with a tessellated pavement, separated from the central space by a row of columns supporting a roof; the courtyard was practically the same as the *peristylium* in a Pompeian house. House II., which was of unusual size, was chiefly interesting from the ample evidence it afforded of reconstruction and from the perfect preservation of one of the hypocausts, where not only was the pavement still *in situ*, but the *pilae* were found to be actually resting on the mosaic pavement of an earlier house. Other interesting features in this house were a small set of baths and a well. House VII. was chiefly remarkable for two very fine pavements, one of which contained interesting but badly-

executed representations of winged figures bearing torches and of animals. Even more interesting perhaps were the remains of plaster on the walls of this house, which were so well preserved that both the pattern and the scheme of colour of the wall decoration were partially recovered.

Other features of importance in the work in this field were a possible shrine on which was a rude head, clumsily carved out of sandstone, an interesting set of baths, and a mound which was found to run parallel to the city wall, and may possibly have been the original defence of the

EXCAVATION AT CAERWENT.
*Mr. Clark, Photo.*

site. Portions of the streets which divided the city into *insulae* were also found, and the city wall was in several places laid bare down to its foundations. Mention must also be made of a hoard of over 7,000 small copper coins which was found in what seems to have been a bucket. These coins were mostly late.

On the north side of the city perhaps the most interesting results are the North Gate, which has been entirely excavated both inside and out Here the sockets for the pivots of the doors can be seen, and they are at a much higher level than would have seemed likely from the size of the piers and the height of the capitals. The gateway has been blocked up at some later time, leaving only a narrow passage. Leading in this direction was found a culvert of stone slabs, inside which were at regular intervals the iron connecting-collar of a series of wooden pipes. South of the gate

there are some furnaces and many buildings, among which a fine hypocaust, which is still uncovered, is specially worthy of attention. At present the workmen are engaged in the excavation of an area enclosed by a circular wall 150 feet in diameter. This may possibly have been an amphitheatre, but evidence as to its internal structure is at present wanting.

Of this year's excavations the most interesting work has been the exploration of the village green, which revealed a massive stone platform with a large stone bearing a well-cut inscription, the finest perhaps that has been found in England for some years. The name of the official in whose honour the stone was erected is wanting, but the rest of the inscription is legible; it runs as follows:—

LEG LEG II
AVG PROCONSVL
PROVINC NAR.
BONENSIS
LEG·AVG·PRO·PRO·PROVI.
LVGVDVNEN
EX DECRETO
ORDINIS·RES
PVBL. CIVITAT.
SILVRVM.

Its chief interest, perhaps, lies in the formulæ of the last four lines and in the inferences which may or may not be drawn as to the municipal life in Roman Britain.

In any case the discovery is a noble one, and one which amply justifies the large expense which this part of the work has caused.

The party assembled just outside the church, where Mr. A. T. MARTIN, who has laboured so hard in the work, gave a short explanatory statement. He said they were standing in the centre of the Roman road. He should like to tell them that they were engaged in excavations in Caerwent, not so much in order to find curiosities, but to get some more light upon the very obscure period of the Roman occupation. A good many villas had been examined, but that did not add very much to their knowledge. At the present time, at Silchester, they were very busy digging up a large city, trying to learn something special about the Romano-British past. Caerwent was the second city in this country to be dug up, for although there were many Roman cities which had continued to be used as cities, the difficulties of excavating these were apparent. There they had a good deal of vacant land, and the owners and tenants had given them the opportunity of digging, and they were making full use of the permission. In the south-west they had excavated seven acres, and had a record and a plan of that portion of the Roman city, and they hoped as time went on, and if they had funds, which he was sorry to say were diminishing, they might in the end achieve something like the recovery of

the whole plan of the city. What the origin of the city was, whether military or civil, was a matter of doubt. An inscription which had been lately found seemed to point to its having been a tribal centre, occupied by the Romans. On the other hand, there were evidences, including the mound which had been found running inside the city wall, which seemed to point to a military origin. Knowing what they did as to there being a series of campaigns there for the conquest of that part of South Wales, which took some thirty years, the supposition was that it represented one of the places occupied by the Second Legion, and that it was stationed there for some period; and that when the district was thoroughly subdued the Legion was ultimately pushed on to Caerleon, where it was stationed for many years. As he had said, some people contended that it was entirely civil, and some people believed it had a military origin. The platform on which he stood was Roman, and it was discovered close to that spot. In Roman times they must remember that the road was some four feet below the present level. When excavating in the village green they discovered that platform, and the Parish Council gave them permission to dig it out and place it where they saw it. The platform was replaced as they found it, but there were evidences that it had been rebuilt at some period. One suggestion was that it had been rebuilt and used as a cross.

Parties were then arranged, under the guidance of Messrs. W. St. Clair Baddeley, A. E. Hudd, A. T. Martin, and A. Ashby, to visit the excavations. The members were much impressed with the amphitheatre, some 150 feet in diameter, the whole of the outer wall of which is visible. Having viewed the brooches, pottery, plans and drawings in the museum, the party made a tour of the walls.

The last place to be visited was Caldicot Castle, and here Mr. Wheatley Cobbe offered the members afternoon tea, and explained some of the features of this magnificent building, which such an authority as Mr. E. A. Freeman spoke of in 1850 as surpassing in masonry and detail every military building he had then seen. Caldicot Castle formerly belonged to the De Bohuns, Earls of Hereford and hereditary High Constables of England. The keep, which is considered the oldest part of the castle, is thought by some to have been erected by Milo FitzWalter, who died in 1144. The south front is attributed to the time of Edward II., and the great gate-house of the western tower opposite to that of Richard II. The name of "Thomas" is on the jamb of the postern gate, and refers to Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, who was murdered by order of Richard III. in 1397. This duke was married to Alianor, co-heiress of the last De Bohun, and her name is sculptured on a piece of masonry in the grounds. In the time of Edward IV. it is stated that the place became untenable as a military fortress.

This brought to a close a most enjoyable meeting, and the thanks of

the members are due to those who had charge of the arrangements, which were admirable in every respect.

On Thursday evening the loan museum at the Guildhall was thrown open to the public on the production of a catalogue. A good number of the citizens availed themselves of the opportunity of inspecting this unique collection of local historical relics, and a most interesting and entertaining evening was spent. A number of lantern slides illustrating the stone and wood carving of the Cathedral, and various churches and ancient buildings and other antiquities in the city, were exhibited by Dr. Oscar Clark, assisted by Mr. C. H. Dancey.

# INCIDENTS IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF GLOUCESTER.

By F. A. HYETT, Esq.,
*President of the Society.*

This "fair city," in which the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society is holding its Twenty-eighth Annual Meeting, does not occupy such a prominent place among the cities of England as it did in the past. It has been outstripped in the race for material prosperity. But in the days of the Roman and Saxon dominations, and in those of the Norman and Angevine dynasties, its national importance was relatively as great as that of Birmingham or Bristol is to-day. Those were times, however, when urban supremacy was determined more by military than commercial considerations. During the almost incessant wars which were waged first by the Romans and then by the Saxons against the Silures, and later by the Normans and the English against the Welsh, the situation of Gloucester made it a place of supreme importance, for it was in fact the key to the lower part of the Severn Valley. It was for this reason that the Romans, in order to facilitate the conquest of Wales, made it one of their chief military stations in the island. This occurred shortly after the subjection of the Dobuni (who inhabited a district approximately coterminous with Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire) by Aulus Plautius, in the reign of the Emperor Claudius, and the date of the foundation of the Roman colony of Glevum has been fixed by Dr. Hübner at about A.D. 50, but it may not have taken place before 96 or 98.[1] It is probable that Glevum was built on the site of a British settlement known as Caer Glow.

[1] *Social England*, i. 16.

which, if we may credit the testimony of a twelfth-century chronicler,[1] was one of twenty-eight towns that existed in Britain before the Roman invasion. Of this British town we know absolutely nothing but its name. Possibly it was merely a collection of those circular stone buildings, constructed on the plan known as horizontal vaulting, and resembling a bee-hive in shape, which were certainly at one time erected by the ancient Britons. Possibly it comprised dwellings approximating more nearly in form to the modern house. The latter is, I think, more probable, for judging from the decorations on their pottery, which are of no little artistic merit, the British had made some progress towards civilisation. Moreover, it is thought by a recent writer, who is an authority on such matters, that the Roman villas in England, which are of a very different type from those in Italy, were an adaptation of a style of domestic architecture which the Romans found in the island.

But whatever was the character of Caer Glow, it must have been entirely demolished, for Glevum was built on the recognised Roman plan. Indeed, the main and secondary streets of a Prætorian camp can be traced in the Gloucester of to-day. The lines of its walls, which have in places been laid bare and examined, can be determined, and on the very spot where we should expect to find a forum (viz. the site now occupied by the Wilts and Dorset Bank) remains of a large Roman building have been recently discovered. Fragments of tessellated pavement have been found in the neighbourhood of the Cross, and coins of the Emperors Claudius, Vespasian, Nero and Germanicus, and of Claudius' mother, Antonia, in various parts of the city and Kingsholm.

There is a nominal connection between Gloucester and the Emperor Claudius which has never been explained. It has certainly been called *Claudii castrum*, *Claudiana civitas*, and *Claudiocestria*, and it has been suggested, quite erroneously I believe, that Gloucester is a contraction of the last of these names. There is a legend that the Roman city

[1] Alfred of Beverley.

of Glevum was built by or in honour of Claudius, but no evidence has been adduced in support of it. Nor is there any proof that the Claudian Legion was ever quartered there, or indeed that it was ever in Britain. Other conjectures even less plausible have been made as to the origin of the name.

But it seems to me that there is less excuse for speculations of this kind here than is usually the case when attempting to trace the origin of the names of ancient cities. As we have seen, Gloucester occupies the site of Caer Glow. *Caer* is the British for an enclosure or town, and *Glowe* is said to mean "fair," though etymologists are not agreed as to this. But whatever its meaning, Glevum would be its Latinised form, and it is but natural that during the Roman occupation "Glowe" should have been "Glevum," and that in Saxon times it should have reverted to something like its original form. Glowe-ceastre, Glewan-cester, Glew-ceastre are but Saxon renderings of Glevum town. And if, as is possible, during the century and a half that elapsed between the departure of the Romans and the entry of the Saxons into Glevum its British name had been revived, the transition from Caer Glow to Glowe-ceastre is perfectly plain, for *Caer* and *Ceastre* have substantially the same meaning.

Of the history of Gloucester during the Roman occupation we learn next to nothing from written records, but we have good ground for concluding that it was a place of some consequence. The remains of glass of the finest manufacture and of shells of oysters from the east coast that have been found within it, all point to the wealth and luxurious habits of its occupants. Fragments of the fragile and costly ware first made at Arezzo, and popularly known as Samian ware, have also been found there in large quantities; but much stress should not be laid on this, as Samian ware seems to have been generally used in Britain, remains of it having been found amid ruins of buildings which appear to have been Roman cottages.

Of the political condition of Glevum we know some-

thing. Ravennas and Richard of Cirencester mention it as one of the few *coloniæ* which the Romans founded in Britain, and their statement has been corroborated by incontrovertible evidence. A fragment of an inscribed stone was found at Bath, on which only six words remain, but they tell us not a little. They run as follows—

| | |
|---|---|
| DEC COLONIÆ GLEV. | Decurion of the colony of Glevum. |
| VIXIT AN. LXXXVI. | (who) lived 86 years. |

These are evidently the last lines of the epitaph of some leading citizen of Gloucester who died at Bath, where, it has been surmised, he had gone for the sake of its healing waters. The inscription was copied in 1710; but the stone has unfortunately disappeared. I may remark, by the way, that it has something more than a local interest, as while Roman sepulchral inscriptions referring to military men are fairly common, those referring to civilians have very rarely been met with in this country. Archæologists doubt whether the figures "LXXXVI" have been rightly transcribed. If they have, the great age of the deceased gives an additional interest to the stone, as, judging from other sepulchral inscriptions which have been found, the Romans in Britain generally died young.[1]

But the accuracy of the first three words of the inscription, "Dec. Coloniæ Glev." (which is all that really matters for our present purpose) has never been questioned, and we may take it as certain that Gloucester was a *colonia*, *i.e.* it was a city whose inhabitants possessed the rights of Roman citizenship to as full an extent as they were ever conferred on foreigners. This alone establishes its importance, as there were, according to the most recent authority, only four *coloniæ* (Colchester, Lincoln, York and Gloucester) in Britain. We are therefore in a position to affirm that the government of Glevum was of a form frequently accorded by Rome to large towns in her provinces, which was more or less a copy in miniature of the Roman constitution. Glevum must then in those days have

[1] Their average age seems to have been about 30.—Wright, 385.

enjoyed a large share of local self-government. It managed its affairs through a popular assembly (*municipium*) and a senate (*curia*). The senators were called *curiales*, or, more commonly, *decuriones*, and their rank, after the second century A.D., became hereditary. They elected two officials whose duties corresponded to those of consuls, and the people elected one who was in fact a tribune. As far as its municipal life was concerned, the city was a little republic, but its military and fiscal affairs were conducted by a Roman vicar.

Such then was the condition of Gloucester from its foundation as a Roman colony in the middle of the first century to the termination of the imperial rule in the early years of the fifth.

In 449 Hengest landed on the Isle of Thanet, but it was not till 577, or one hundred and twenty-eight years later, that the Saxon occupation of Gloucestershire commenced. What was the condition of Gloucester during that period? Its history, so far as documentary evidence is concerned, is unfortunately a blank. It may, however, be safely assumed that its acquisition of freedom did not bring about any revolutionary change. It has no doubt been asserted by a very eminent historian that on the termination of the Roman occupation Britain reverted to its ancient barbarism, but the better opinion seems to be that, at least as far as the towns are concerned, this was not the case. It may be that the cities of Roman Britain had not been so thoroughly Romanised as those of Gaul, Spain, or Africa, nor their culture nor their commerce so highly developed; but the influence of Rome had been too considerable to suddenly disappear. The old tribal system of government had certainly passed away for ever, and been replaced by one of a representative character, which had taken firm root. Nor was it only in its political institutions that the urban population of Britain had become Romanised. It had almost lost its distinctive nationality. Through intermarriages with discharged soldiers of the imperial

legions the blood in its veins had in it a large, perhaps a preponderating, foreign strain. It spoke not a Celtic but a neo-Latin dialect. The immense number of remains and altar-pieces that have been found make it certain that paganism was the predominating religion. The rude garb of the ancient British had given place to the toga. Baths and porticoed houses were erected by the inhabitants, and their mode of life in this and other respects had become more refined. Professor Haverfield (whose words on such a matter are entitled to great weight) is of opinion that the effects on Britain of the departure of the Romans were nearer akin to those which would be produced on Australia to-day by its severance from the mother country, than on India by the ending of the English rule.

And the results of that departure must have been felt as little here as anywhere, for the impress of Roman civilisation on the district in which Gloucester is situated had been as deep and widespread as in any part of the island. Probably remains of more Roman villas have been found in Gloucestershire than in any area of equal size in the country. No less than twenty-three have been noticed in the *Transactions* of our Society, and besides these, others have been found at Daglingworth, Trewsbury, Rodmarton, Cromhall, Browns Hill, and Frocester. The largest and most magnificent of which we have any knowledge in the whole of England was at Woodchester. Those at Chedworth and Lydney must have been the dwellings of personages of importance. And *Corinium* (Cirencester), though not as large as some Roman towns in Britain, must have surpassed most of them in the splendour of its buildings.

The prevalence of Roman remains in Gloucestershire is the result of Roman strategy. It was the practice of the imperial generals to mass their troops along the frontiers of the provinces of the empire, and before the subjugation of the warlike Silures the Severn was the western boundary of Roman Britain. Hence the chain of camps which extends from Towbury to Clifton. Gloucester was at first the centre

of this military district, and for a time the headquarters of the Second Legion.

This generalisation, though hasty, is, I believe, accurate, and if so we may dimly picture to ourselves what Gloucester was like during the period which elapsed between the Roman and Saxon supremacies (410–577). It must have resembled many a mediæval city of Europe whose history has been recorded. Like most of them it was self-governed and surrounded by strong walls, and probably like some of them it exercised jurisdiction over a tract of country that surrounded it. We may believe, too, that it was prosperous, for it was situated in a fertile vale, and it must have been the port whence wool and grain from the Cotswolds and iron from the Forest of Dean was exported, when trade in both these commodities with the Continent was considerable. But agriculture and commerce must have been often interrupted by warfare, for the period was a troublous one. England was devastated on the north by the terrible Picts and Scots, on the south-east by the no less terrible Saxon pirates, and on the west by some invaders who cannot with certainty be identified, but who possibly came from Ireland and Brittany. The Roman towns between Chester and Gloucester (*Ariconium*, *Magna*, *Bravinium*, and *Uriconium*[1]) were utterly destroyed. Whether Chester and Gloucester were left unmolested or successfully resisted attack we do not know. At any rate, they survived the incursion of these unknown barbarians and maintained their independence. But in 577 the autonomy of Gloucester was rudely ended, as in that year the kings of Wessex, who had been gradually extending their territory westward, commenced the conquest of the Severn Valley. "An. D. LXXVII.," we read in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, "Cuthwine and Ceawlin fought against the Britons and slew three kings, Commail, and Condidan, and Farinmail, at the place which is called Deorham (Dyrham), and took three cities from them,

[1] Now respectively known as Weston (near Ross), Kenchester, Leintwardine and Wroxeter.

Gloucester, and Cirencester, and Bath."[1] The day on which the battle of Dyrham was fought was (as Professor Freeman told us some twenty years ago) one of the days which did most toward the making of England. Certainly no day effected a more organic change in this city. On that day it lost its British independence, and its Roman institutions, if they did not disappear, became subject to an abiding Teutonic influence. On that day it may truly be said Glevum died and Gloucester was born.

The conquest of Britain by the Saxons was of a very different character from that by the Romans. Ceawlin was not, like Aulus Plautius, the leader of legions come to add a new province to a distant empire. His followers were a homeless multitude who desired a new land to dwell in. No quarter was given when a battle was won, and captured cities were generally levelled to the ground. After the battle of Dyrham, Corinium (Cirencester) and Aqua Solis (Bath) were utterly destroyed, and long remained desolate. Whether Glevum shared the same fate we do not know for certain. Its Roman walls were undoubtedly, at some time or other, levelled to the ground, and recent excavations lead to the belief that its forum perished by fire. It may be that both were demolished on this occasion. But even so I cannot think that Glevum, like Corinium and Aqua Solis, was ever reduced to a heap of ruins. The present position of its streets, following as they do the Roman plan, seems to point to a different conclusion. If, however, it was destroyed, it must have been rebuilt on the old lines and that speedily, for it was an important city in the following or seventh century.

Our knowledge of Saxon Gloucester is very scanty, and, as with Roman Gloucester, it has to be deduced from our knowledge of what was taking place in the district surrounding it. Seven years after the battle of Dyrham Ceawlin still

[1] It has been said that we may naturally infer from this passage that Commail, the first named of the three kings, was King of Gloucester, the first named of the three cities. I cannot think that this is a legitimate inference, but if by chance it be correct then we know the name of the last British king who bore rule in Gloucester.

further extended his dominions, and this time in a northerly direction, possibly as far as Chester, but more probably only to the forests of Wyre and Arden. Thus, the lower part, if not the whole of the Severn Valley, became part of his kingdom. In this new portion of Wessex a West Saxon tribe, known as the Huiccas, now established themselves, and there they remained for four centuries, never absolutely independent of one or other of the greater states, but retaining their racial individuality and giving a tribal character to the district which they had peopled. Roughly speaking, the Huiccian territory was coterminous with the ancient See of Worcester. It included parts of the districts which are now known as Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, and Warwickshire, as well as the city of Bath. All Gloucestershire lay within its limits except the Forest of Dean and the tract which lies between the Severn and the Wye. This Huiccian province remained either an integral part or a dependency of the West Saxon kingdom from the battle of Dyrham (577) to the battle of Cirencester (625), when it came under the sway of the kings of Mercia.

The battle of Cirencester was fought between King Penda, who may be said to have founded the Mercian Kingdom, and the West Saxon princes, after which we are told by the Saxon Chronicle "they came to an agreement." It is believed that it was under this agreement that the Huiccian province was ceded to Penda, whose power now rapidly increased until Mercia became a formidable rival of Wessex and Northumbria. The Mercians were Angles, but nevertheless the Saxon Huiccians seem to have accepted their over-lordship without resistance. Henceforth they were ruled by viceroys (appointed by the kings of Mercia), who were sometimes called *reges*, but more commonly *reguli* or *sub-reguli*, whose seat of government was Gloucester. After A.D. 780 their title seems to have been changed to ealdormen. The names of some of them are known, but scarcely anything else.[1]

[1] Those who desire to know more about them cannot do better than consult the interesting series of papers which have been contributed to our *Transactions* by their Editor.

The seventh century was a notable one in the annals of Gloucester. Penda was the champion of paganism, and during the greater part of his life his dominions were heathen; but before his death (which occurred in 655) he allowed two of his sons, Peada and Wulfhere, who had espoused Christianity, to promulgate their religion; and as Mercia became for the three years succeeding Penda's death (655–8) subject to Christian Northumbria, we may fairly assume that Christianity was at least beginning to be re-introduced into Gloucester about this time. Its progress must have been rapid, for in the year 681 Wulfhere's successor, Ethelred, King of Mercia, gave certain lands to Osric, King or Viceroy of the Huiccas, for the founding an abbey, and from this grant sprang St. Peter's Abbey and eventually the Cathedral of which we are all so justly proud. Osric was buried in the abbey which he had founded, but it was not until the reign of Henry VIII. that a monument was erected to his memory. It is generally believed that at the end of his life he was King of Northumbria, but the identity of the Osric who founded St. Peter's Abbey, of Gloucester, with the Osric, King of Northumbria, who died in 729, has been not unreasonably questioned.

Osric's sister, Kyneburgh, became the first abbess of St. Peter's. The second was Edburga, and the third Eva, both connected with the royal house of Mercia. These three ladies must have been exceptionally long-lived, as their rule over the abbey extended over a period of eighty-six years. After the death of Eva, in 767, there were no more abbesses.

The civil wars which distracted the country put an end to the religious establishment which had been founded by Osric; the nuns were dispersed, and for half a century their house was deserted. At the close of that period, however, Beornulf rebuilt it, and converted it into a monastery for secular clergy, whom he endowed with the possessions which formerly belonged to the nuns.

Of the civil history of Gloucester at this period we know even less than of its ecclesiastical history. During

the seventeen years of Wulfhere's rule (A.D. 658–675) it prospered. More of the lands which surrounded it were reclaimed and brought into cultivation, and there is a tradition, recorded by Bede, that in the year 670 Wulfhere so greatly enlarged and beautified it that it became one of the noblest cities in the kingdom. During the eighth century, however, the wars which Ethelbald and Offa, kings of Mercia, were constantly waging, on the one side with Wessex and on the other with Wales, must have rendered further progress in material prosperity impossible. Nor had it any better chance of developing its commerce or pursuing the arts of peace during the ninth century. Mercia was distracted by civil war and rebellion until its supremacy over the South of England was broken at the battle of Ellandune in 823. The Danes, who had been plundering other parts of England for nearly seventy years, first made their appearance as far as we know in Gloucestershire in 855, and in 870 the kingdom of Mercia acknowledged their supremacy and paid them tribute. Its submission did not however save it from predatory inroads, and in the summer of 877 Gloucester was besieged and captured by the Danes. They held it until January, 878, when they withdrew to Chippenham, and they were shortly afterwards defeated by King Alfred at Ethandun (Edington in Wiltshire), and the South and West of England was for a time relieved of their over-lordship. That part of Mercia which formed part of Alfred's kingdom he committed to the rule of Ethelred, who had married his daughter Ethelflæd. Ethelred is spoken of as Earldorman and Duke, but whatever his correct title, he was Alfred's viceroy, and he made Gloucester the seat of his government. He was an able general, and when in 894 the Danes were endeavouring to recover their position in the West of England he inflicted a crushing defeat on them at Buttingtune, a place which there are good grounds for believing is Buttington Tump in the parish of Tidenham.

Two facts are recorded concerning Ethelred which have a

more exclusively local interest than those which I have been mentioning. In 896 he held a Witenagemot—an assembly of the wise men—of Mercia, in Gloucester, in order to settle a dispute respecting the woodlands of Woodchester, of which the Bishop of Worcester alleged that he had been wrongfully deprived by one Ethelwald: and in 909 the body of St. Oswald, King of Northumbria—who had gallantly, though unsuccessfully, withstood Penda, King of the Mercians, in the struggle between Christianity and paganism -was brought by him from Bardney to Gloucester and laid in the priory which bears his name.

It is probable that St. Oswald's Priory was founded by Ethelred and his wife Ethelflæd. Ethelred died about 911, and was buried in Gloucester, but whether in the minster of St. Oswald or St. Peter is not known. Thenceforth until 918 the province of which Gloucester was the capital was ruled by his widow Ethelflæd, who seems to have possessed even more energy and capacity than her husband. She was known as "the Lady of the Mercians," and her reputation recalls that of Matilda, the "Great Countess" of Tuscany. Whether, like Matilda, she ever went to battle at the head of her forces with a sword by her side we do not know, but she was her equal as a strategist. She determined to make Mercia a buffer-state between Wales and the Danish province which was known as the "Five Boroughs," and this she accomplished by building strong fortresses on commanding positions. Having thus secured her dominion she resorted to offensive tactics. She stormed and took Brecknock in 916 and Derby in 917, after which neither Welshmen nor Danes dared to resist her. In 918 Leicester surrendered to her, and York acknowledged her supremacy. Had she lived but a year or two more she would probably have seen what had been her lifelong purpose crowned with success, but she died in the midst of her triumphs. It was left for her brother Edward and her nephew Athelstan to complete the work which she had begun. It was not, however, so much

by their achievements that England was enabled to throw off the Danish yoke as by Ethelflæd's brilliant exploits—exploits which were planned in Gloucester, executed by Gloucester's governor with the aid, doubtless, of many of Gloucester's citizens, and which consequently form a page, and a very interesting page, in Gloucester's history. This was the first but not the last occasion on which Gloucester played a prominent part in turning the whole current of English history.

During the next hundred years the references to Gloucester in the pages of the old chroniclers are few and meagre. Athelstan, who has certainly some claim to be called "King of England," and whose reputation abroad was such that five of his sisters married continental princes, died in Gloucester in 940. The story of the mutilation and murder of Queen Ælfgifu at Gloucester, about the year 958, because she had contracted an uncanonical marriage with King Eadwig, was coined in the brain of a monkish writer, and must be dismissed as legendary. It is said that King Edgar resided here for a short time in 968, and that the city was ravaged by the Danes in 980. I have been unable to verify the latter statement, but as the Danes certainly sailed up to the mouth of the Severn in 977, and harried parts of Somersetshire and Wales, it is by no means improbable.

In 1016 Edmund Ironside, after his defeat by the Danes at Assandun, came to Gloucester to recruit his forces, and his struggle with Cnut was peaceably settled not many miles from her walls by a partition of the kingdom between them. But he did not enjoy his sovereignty many months, for he died in the same year, and thenceforth until 1035 Gloucester with the rest of England was under the rule of the Danish Cnut. Before leaving the period of the Danish supremacy there is one point of some interest, which is not free from difficulty, on which I should like to touch. From documentary evidence it seems as if Gloucester was only subject to Danish rule from 870 to 878 and from 1016 to

1035, nor is there any written record of any permanent Danish settlement in Gloucestershire, as was the case in East Anglia and other parts of England. How comes it then that we have no inconsiderable number of place-names of undoubted Danish origin? In a district which lies between Cirencester and Gloucester we have Daneway, Dane Bottom, Lypiatt, Birdlip, Wishanger, Hazelhanger, Frith, Knapp, Colthrop, Brookthorpe, and Kingsholme. In other parts of the county Danish place-names also occur, although they are not so numerous. Now, as a rule, local nomenclature is not changed unless a race speaking one language gains a permanent ascendancy over a race speaking another, and this was far from being the case in Gloucestershire. The only explanation that I can offer is that in some of the short intervals during which the Danes ravaged the country they must practically have exterminated the inhabitants of certain places on the Cotswolds, who were replaced by small isolated colonies of Danes—colonies who cared little under what government they lived so long as they were allowed to retain possession of their new homes; and that their Saxon rulers, finding them loyal subjects, did not trouble to displace them. The racial kinship which existed between the Teutons and the Scandinavians perhaps makes this hypothesis more tenable.

With the close of the Danish dynasty we enter on a period of peculiar interest in the history of Gloucester. It is, too, one which is more satisfactory to deal with, as our knowledge of it rests more upon contemporary writings and less upon tradition. But before touching on it I will take a backward glance. The slight sketch which I have been able to give is obviously disappointing. Indeed, it is hardly worthy to be called a sketch, consisting as it does of little more than a string of facts—chiefly royal visits and battles—sometimes separated by considerable intervals of time and often altogether unconnected. Of the political life of Gloucester, of its social, of its inner life in Saxon times, we seem to know nothing. Nor is there, as far as I know, any direct

evidence which will enlighten us on these heads. We may, however, fairly assume that its condition was similar to that of other large towns in England which had been powerful in the days of the Romans. Now, from the few historical facts relating to the condition of some of these during the Saxon period which have been preserved by the old annalists, we gather that they were in a state of importance and independence. Although the system of land tenure had been revolutionised, a resemblance in the constitution of the Saxon *burg* to the Roman *municipium* may be traced, and for many years it was believed that the changes effected in the local government of our cities had been nominal rather than radical. But modern scholars, English and German, deny that there was any continuous survival of Roman municipal institutions.[1] The measure of self-government, however, accorded by the Saxons to the large British towns (whether in form of Roman or Teutonic origin), was probably not insignificant, and we may safely believe that on the accession of Edward the Confessor Gloucester had enjoyed something approaching a continuity of corporate life for a long period—certainly for four hundred, probably for almost six hundred years.

That the streets of Saxon Gloucester followed the lines of the present streets we may safely conclude, but what the houses were like we do not know, for not a remnant of the handiwork of a Saxon mason, except perhaps in the crypt of the Cathedral, exists in the city. Judging from the jewelry and pottery of the period that have been found in the neighbourhood, the citizens must have retrograded in refinement. The *fibulæ* and urns found at Fairford seem to be rude imitations of Roman designs; and the same may be said of the coins.

There was certainly a mint in Gloucester in the reign of Alfred the Great, as a silver penny is in the British Museum stamped with his bust and name, and with an inscription on the reverse which is an abbreviation of "at Gloucestei."

[1] Maitland's *Domesday and Beyond*, p. 173.

This is the earliest known coin that was minted there. The Gloucester mint existed for nearly four hundred years, but it was not as productive as the importance of the place would have led us to expect. Its output was small compared with that of York, Lincoln, Winchester, or Canterbury, and insignificant compared with that of London. Nevertheless, it seems to have been continuously at work from the time of Alfred to that of Henry III., as specimens of its products during the reign of almost every king who sat on the throne during that period exist.

The ecclesiastical affairs of Gloucester were during the whole of this period under the control of the bishops of Worcester, in whose diocese it was situate. Many of the occupants of this See were men of note, who busied themselves as much with politics as with the affairs officially committed to their care. Chief among these is St. Dunstan, who held the bishopric from 957 to 961, and St. Oswald (not to be confounded with St. Oswald, King of Northumbria), who held it from 961 to 992. From 1002 to 1023 it was in the hands of Wulfstan, who founded the Benedictine monastery at Gloucester. Two other of the statesmen-bishops who ruled over our diocese should be mentioned.

"Lyfing the Eloquent" was Cnut's trusted adviser and the bearer of his famous letter to the English people. His share in placing Edward the Confessor on the throne was second only to that of Godwin. He was Bishop of Worcester from 1038 to 1046. His patriotic career made him the mark for Norman slander, but wherever he was best known his memory was loved and cherished.

Lyfing was succeeded by Ealdred (or Aldred), who was a warrior as well as a politician and a churchman. In 1046 he did not scruple to take up arms to protect his diocese against the incursions of the Welsh. At the end of his life it fell to his lot to do what no other English bishop has ever done. In a single year (1066) he placed the crown on two English kings. He died in 1069.

A great change took place in the constitution of St. Peter's

Abbey during the reign of Cnut, for in 1022 the fraternity of secular priests which had been established by Beornwulf, in 821, was dissolved and replaced by a community of Benedictine monks—a change which was taking place in many other abbeys about this time. It was effected by Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester, and the monks were placed under the rule of Eadric, who thus became first abbot of Gloucester. There seem to have been only three abbots of Gloucester before the commencement of the twelfth century, namely—

| | |
|---|---|
| Eadric ... ... ... ... | 1022–1058 |
| Wulfstan ... ... ... ... | 1058—1072 |
| Serlo .. ... ... ... ... | 1072—1104 |

Notwithstanding the many ills which Gloucester had to endure for a century and a half, while the Saxon and the Dane were struggling for supremacy, its position as one of our noblest cities had not suffered, and when Edward the Confessor came to the throne (1042) it took the place, which was held by Oxford a little earlier, as the scene of courts and councils, and it remained during his reign what it remained during the reign of the Conqueror, the place where the king "wore his crown" at Christmas, as he wore it at Winchester at Easter, and at Westminster at Whitsuntide. There was then no capital of the kingdom, or rather the capital was held in commission, and Westminster, Winchester, and Gloucester may share the honour, for at each of them in turn the national assembly was annually convened. "Gloucester was convenient for the purpose, as lying near the borders of the two great earldoms of Mercia and Wessex. It lay also near the borders of the dangerous Welsh, whose motions under princes like the two Gruffyds it was doubtless expedient to watch with the whole wisdom and whole force of the realm." [1]

These Christmas gatherings of court and council often brought Gloucester into touch with our national history, and while they lasted no other town is more frequently mentioned

[1] Freeman's *Norman Conquest*.

by the old chroniclers. The first of these was held in the very year of King Edward's coronation. He was crowned at Winchester in April, 1043, and in the November following we find him at Gloucester with his Witan. The conduct of the king's mother, Queen Emma, engrossed the attention of the wise men who were there assembled. What was Emma's offence we do not precisely know. She was possessed of large landed estates, and had amassed great wealth, out of which she had not, we are told, helped the king as liberally as he wished either before or after his accession.[1] It is probable, however, that she was suspected of intriguing for the restoration of a Danish dynasty, as all her sympathies were with the house of her second husband Cnut. However this may be, the result of the deliberations of the Witan was that the king rode out of Gloucester accompanied by his three great earls—Godwin, the mightiest and wisest of his counsellors, Earl of Wessex; Leofric, the founder of many rich abbeys and the husband of the famous Godgifa, the Lady Godiva of legend, Earl of Mercia; and Siward the Strong, the stern, half-savage Dane, Earl of Northumbria—dispossessed Emma of her lands, and seized her treasure.

Another important event occurred when the king and his Witan were in Gloucester in 1048 or 1051, the latter date is the most probable. Since the incident last mentioned a change, pregnant with momentous consequences, had taken place in the land. Edward, whose domestic virtues earned for him canonisation, and who was a man better fitted by nature for the cloister than the throne, had during the early years of his reign interested himself more in the welfare of his monasteries than of his state, the care of which he had left to his father-in-law, Earl Godwin. Under Godwin's influence the government of the country was carried on with energy and wisdom, but when the incident which I am about to narrate took place his power was on the wane. Edward's youth had been spent in Normandy, and after his accession a

[1] Saxon Chronicle, ii. 133.

troop of Norman place-hunters flocked to his court, which became a centre of intrigue. These men gradually succeeded in engrossing the royal favour, they shared among themselves the highest places in the Church, and many of them had become owners of English soil. Godwin, by endeavouring to stem their influence, became the special object of their jealousy, and they at length succeeded in poisoning the king's mind against him. But his popularity throughout the country increased, for the people resented the promotion of foreigners to important offices in Church and State, and Godwin became the leader of a national party. He continued, nevertheless, to maintain relations of outward friendship with the king, but now an open rupture occurred. The inhabitants of Dover had in September, 1051, been provoked to resistance by the outrages of Eustace, Count of Boulogne, the king's brother-in-law, who lodged a complaint against them with the king at Gloucester. Edward, without enquiring into the merits of the case, sent for Godwin, in whose earldom Dover was situated, and ordered him to chastise the town with fire and sword. But Godwin, recognising not only that he was the natural protector of the delinquent town, but that the time had come when a stand must be made against the foreigners, pleaded eloquently before the king that if the men of Dover had done wrong they should be tried and punished by a legal tribunal, and declined to execute the arbitrary sentence. The king, doubtless instigated by Godwin's bitter enemy, Robert of Jumièges, the new Archbishop of Canterbury, summoned Godwin, who had left Gloucester, to return and justify his disobedience before a Witenagemot. Instead of obeying the summons, Godwin and his sons collected a large army, and, marching into Gloucestershire, encamped at or near Beverstone. Thence they sent an imperious message to the king demanding that Eustace and his retinue should be given up to them. The king, hearing that the earls of Mercia and Northumbria, at the head of considerable forces, were on their way to support him, refused the

demand, whereupon Godwin marched towards Gloucester, and the city or its immediate neighbourhood would have been the scene of a great battle had not Leofric mediated between Godwin and the king. Had this battle taken place, it would have been the commencement of a great civil war; for the opposing armies had not been brought face to face by a feud between the king and his most powerful subject, but by the hatred which existed between the national and the Normanising party. There is no record of the spot on which the final negotiations took place, but as Painswick lies on the route by which we know Godwin's army was proceeding from Beverstone to Gloucester, there seems no reason to doubt the tradition that he was encamped on the top of Painswick Hill when he came to terms with the king —a tradition which may possibly be borne out by the existing place-name of "Castle Godwin," which we find on the eastern slope of the hill. The incident led to the temporary banishment of Godwin, and it was a gain for the foreign party. Thus Gloucester witnessed one of the preliminary steps of a movement which ended in the Norman conquest of England.

There are records of other business transacted at Gloucester of more or less interest during the succeeding years of King Edward's reign, but time will only allow me to mention a few of them. The Witan, when assembled there in 1052, passed a decree ordering the execution of Rhys (brother of Gruffyd, King of South Wales), who had been leading marauding parties into England during the past few months. It seems that the Welsh had taken advantage of Godwin's overthrow to renew their plundering inroads, but they were out in their reckoning. Godwin's exile did not last a year, and it was doubtless owing to his presence that vigorous measures were taken for their chastisement. The decree was immediately executed, and before the Christmas festivities were ended Rhys' head was brought to the king at Gloucester.

In the spring of 1055 England was again suffering from Welsh depredations. Gruffyd, King of North Wales, was

at the height of his power. Having conquered and slain his namesake, the King of South Wales, he ravaged Herefordshire and destroyed Hereford Cathedral. Consequently the king and his Witan came to Gloucester earlier in the year than usual, and Godwin's son, Harold—the future King of England, who since his father's death occupied a position second only to that of the king—was despatched at the head of a punitive expedition against the Welsh prince. Gruffyd sued for peace, and terms, arranged in Shropshire, were ratified by the Witan at Gloucester. Nevertheless, in 1062, he was ravaging Herefordshire with increased fury, and Harold was ordered to invade Wales, and, if possible, seize and put to death the turbulent Gruffyd. The first campaign was a failure; but a second in the following year, which had been planned on a much larger scale, was crowned with complete success. Then it was that Harold first showed his splendid powers of generalship. The Welsh were vanquished in every engagement, a merciless retribution was inflicted on them, their spirit was broken, and regarding Gruffyd as the author of their misfortunes, they put him to death. The head of Gruffyd, "the last victorious hero of the old Cymrian stock, the last British chief whose name was really terrible in Saxon ears,"[1] was brought in triumph to Gloucester and presented to the king at Christmas, 1063.

In the following year we read of the murder of a Northumbrian Thegn named Gospatric at Gloucester. The crime is mentioned because it seems to have had some political significance. It was instigated by Harold's brother Tostig, and ordered by his sister the Queen Eadgith.

In 1065 the midwinter Witan did not assemble at Gloucester, but at Westminster, in order that it might be present at the consecration of the abbey which the king had built there in expiation of his vow to make a pilgrimage to Rome.

It is probable that Gloucester did not become subject to the rule of William the Conqueror till after the taking

[1] Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, ii. 475.

of Exeter, and that it then submitted without resistance. Its submission must therefore have occurred about the year 1068, and it is likely that the building of Gloucester Castle was commenced immediately afterwards, though the precise date of its foundation is not recorded. We learn, however, from Domesday Book that its erection involved the demolition of fourteen houses—a smaller destruction of property than was occasioned by the building of castles in many other towns.

William the Conqueror did not wear his crown at Gloucester at Christmastide with as much regularity as Edward the Confessor, partly because, in the earlier years of his reign, he was engaged in establishing his supremacy in other parts of his kingdom, and partly because his presence was frequently required in his Duchy of Normandy.

He was there, however, in 1085, and a decree went forth, useful enough at the time, but the contemporary value of which was as nothing to what it became to future generations. In the entry which occurs under the year 1085 in the Saxon Chronicle we read that "at midwinter the king was at Gloucester with his Witan, and there held his court five days; and afterwards the archbishop and his clergy had a synod of three days. . . . After this the king had a great council and very deep speech with his Witan about this land, and how it was peopled or by what men; then [he] sent his men over all England into every shire, and caused to be ascertained how many hundred hides were in the shire, or what land the king himself had, and cattle within the land, or what dues he ought to have in twelve months from the shire."[1] The result of this "deep speech" between the king and his councillors, which took place eight hundred and eighteen years ago within a few hundred yards of the spot on which we are now assembled, was the compilation of the Domesday Book—a work which is absolutely unique, for no other country possesses a record, at once so ancient and so minute, of the value and ownership

[1] Saxon Chronicle, ii. 186.

of its soil. It is still the quarry in which every local historian first sets to work, and from it the foundation stones of almost all our parish histories have been dug. It is interesting to note how little human nature changes. The enquiries of landowners as to their possessions was as displeasing to the subjects of William the Conqueror as the demands for returns by the Income Tax Commissioners are to the subjects of Edward VII. The writer of the Saxon Chronicle cannot conceal his resentment at so inquisitorial a proceeding. "There was not one single hide," he writes, "nor one yard of land, nor even—it is shame to tell, though it seemed no shame to him to do—an ox, nor a cow, nor a swine was left that was not set down in his writ."

The next fifteen years were also eventful ones in the annals of this city. In 1087 the first stone of the Cathedral was laid by Abbot Serlo. In March, 1093, Anselm was here appointed Archbishop of Canterbury; in August of the same year Malcolm III. of Scotland came to Gloucester in obedience to a summons from William, but William refused even to see him; and in the following December, while the midwinter Witan was in session, William received a challenge from his brother, Duke Robert. The second of these events led to an invasion of England by the Scotch, and the third to an invasion of Normandy by the English.

The appointment of Anselm is so remarkable that it must not be thus briefly dismissed. No archbishop was ever appointed under stranger or more dramatic circumstances. The metropolitan see had been vacant for more than three years, and its revenues had been appropriated by King William II. to his own uses. The king, after spending the Christmas of 1092 at Gloucester, had gone to Alveston in this county, where he was taken seriously ill, and doubtless for better quarters and attendance he was brought back to Gloucester early in the following year. There he believed that he was dying, and he was sorely troubled in conscience, for his life had been an evil one. The bishops and abbots

around his sick bed urged him to make atonement for his spoliation of the See of Canterbury, for of all his flagrant offences against the laws of God and man that appeared in their eyes to be the greatest. The heart of the penitent was touched, and he promised reparation. On the first Sunday in Lent there was a crowd of ecclesiastics in the king's room, among whom was Anselm, the saintly Abbot of Bec, and on the king being asked whom he would appoint to the archbishopric he said, "I choose this holy man Anselm." Anselm shrank from the responsibilities of the high office, and he was forcibly dragged to the king's bedside for investiture, pleading earnestly all the while to the king that he was unfit for the post. A pastoral staff was put into the king's trembling hand which was guided to the hand of Anselm, but he kept his fist so firmly clenched that he could not be made to grasp it. At length one of his fingers was wrenched open, with so much violence that he cried out for pain, and bent round the staff. This was held to be a lawful investiture, and amid the shouts of the crowd, "Long live the bishop!" with the *Te Deum* of the bishops and clergy, he was carried rather than led to a neighbouring church, still crying out, "It is nought that you are doing, it is nought that you are doing." He himself described the scene in a letter to his monks at Bec: "It would have been difficult to make out whether madmen were dragging along one in his senses, or sane men a madman, save that they were chanting, and I, pale with amazement and pain, looked more like one dead than alive."

Seven years after Anselm's appointment the minster commenced by Abbot Serlo, which forms the stately nave of our Cathedral, was sufficiently near completion for consecration, and the rite was performed on July 15th, 1100. On August 1st a notable sermon was preached in it. Foulchered, Abbot of Shrewsbury, inspired by much the same spirit as inspired Savonarola some four hundred years later, denounced in unmeasured terms spiritual wickedness in high places and prophesied speedy retribution.

"Lo," he said, "the bow of wrath from on high is bent against the wicked, and the arrow swift to wound is drawn from the quiver." On the following day William Rufus was killed by the arrow from the bow of one of his hunting companions, and Foulchered was regarded as a prophet. We do not read that this coincidence had the same tragic effect on his life as a similar one had on the life of Savonarola.

With the death of William Rufus I must bring my somewhat disjointed address to a close. Much of interest remains to be told, especially during the reigns of Stephen, Henry III. and Charles I., but I have already occupied too much of your time. The theme is a splendid one, and I wish I could have dealt with it more adequately and more eloquently. We must, I think, all feel that we are proud of our connection with a city which has kept its name wholly in sense and partially in form for two thousand years, which has been the favourite resort of kings and honoured by the assembling of Parliaments—a city which has played a foremost part in the maintenance and in the overthrow of dynasties, and that we, its freemen and its denizens, may without boasting claim with St. Paul that we are citizens of no mean city.

# THE MAIRE OF BRISTOWE IS KALENDAR:

## ITS LIST OF CIVIC OFFICERS COLLATED WITH CONTEMPORARY LEGAL MSS.

By JOHN LATIMER.

Mr. Seyer, whilst compiling his intended Topographical History of Bristol, seems to have been painfully embarrassed by the innumerable and sometimes startling discrepancies in the lists of mayors and other civic officials as they appear in the Mayor's Kalendar (begun about 1479 by Robert Ricart, Town Clerk), compared with similar rolls produced in various local chronicles. Having obtained the loan of about twenty of the latter manuscripts, nearly all of which were found to have been written within some 200 years of his examination —that is, from the year 1600 downwards—Mr. Seyer set about noting the variations in the materials before him in a folio volume, now in the Museum and Library. But the results of protracted labours seem to have reduced him to despair, as he eventually destroyed a large portion of his notes and abandoned the task as hopeless.

As will be seen in his published *Memoirs of Bristol*, Mr. Seyer, being denied access to the corporate archives, and unable to find leisure for a thorough investigation of the State Records, was induced to place a confidence in the local chroniclers which later research has shown to be often undeserved. There is no proof that the earliest of these annals was begun until Ricart had been many years in his grave, and as it would be idle to assume that any of the unknown writers of the Stewart period were better informed about the officials of Plantagenet days than was the pains-taking Town Clerk, Mr. Seyer's method of dealing with the

problem will be abandoned in the present paper, the chroniclers being henceforth dismissed as untrustworthy.

The historian's suspicion that the list in the Mayor's Kalendar was in some instances inaccurate was not, however, wholly based on the old annals. He had been presented with 260 ancient deeds relating to property in Bristol, in many of which the names of the mayor and his "brethren" (as Ricart terms them) are recorded as attesting the validity of the instruments; and the information thus given was sometimes irreconcilable with the roll of officers in the Mayor's Kalendar. These discrepancies are of high importance, for it is obvious that conveyances of houses or land, drawn up in the fourteenth century by careful legal scribes, and brought to the mayor for the time being for attestation by his seal, far outweigh the testimony of a Kalendar compiled in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. It has been one of my tasks for several years past to supplement the information of this kind gathered by Mr. Seyer, and the store of material brought to light has exceeded expectations. Besides the collection of deeds in the Museum and Library, numbering in all 560, there are many similar manuscripts in the Council House; and some hundreds more are enrolled in the Great Red Book and (oddly enough) in the Great Book of Wills. Several of the parochial vestries, again, especially those of St. John's, All Saints', St. Maryleport, St. James', St. Thomas', and St. Leonard's, possess stores which in the aggregate surpass those of the Corporation. Mr. Weare Braikenridge, of Bath, has a collection of 343 early Bristol deeds, chiefly relating to property in St. Nicholas' parish; the British Museum has acquired a great number through numerous donors; and Mr. F. F. Fox, of Yate House, has many interesting parchments. In the Council House is a large folio volume recording recognizances of debts brought for attestation before successive mayors for a lengthened period. And the Great Book of Wills contains 250 testaments of an earlier date than Ricart's book, which for the most part were proved in the Guildhall before the mayor and his "brethren," whose

names are appended. Some additional gleanings have been made from the Little Red Book, from the Patent Rolls and other documents in the Record Office, and from various other sources.

It is gratifying to state that the collation of these multifarious authorities with the Mayor's Kalendar demonstrates the accuracy of Ricart's remarkable work as regards a vast majority of its entries, whilst proving that it is, like all human productions, occasionally in error. Probably some of the minor variations between the Kalendar and the manuscripts are due to by-elections caused by the death of officials, an event that cannot have been unusual when the town was ravaged by many visitations of pestilence, but which are never mentioned by Ricart. On one or two occasions the writer of the Kalendar has given the same set of officers for two successive years, and on another he has omitted the officers of a year altogether, clearly through inadvertence. He also blunders in asserting that prepositors were succeeded by seneschals in 1266, and that seneschals were followed by bailiffs in 1310, the inaccuracy of both those statements being conclusively shown below. But perhaps his most vexatious lapse is his omission of the first mayor of Bristol. Lack of information on the early history of the borough is indicated by the assertion that "there hath been always Mayors in this worshipful town since the Conquest and before"; and the remark deserves to be borne in mind in weighing the trustworthiness of the list of officers during the thirteenth century, when, through the paucity of legal deeds, which in that age were generally undated, scarcely any evidence is available for checking the written record.

The creation of the office of mayor by King John in the last year of his reign is attested by the following entries in the Close Rolls. It may be premised that John had bestowed a mayor on London by a charter of the previous year; and there is little doubt that the Bristolians, who always kept a keen eye on privileges granted to the capital and never failed

to pray for similar boons to themselves, besought the King's favour whilst he was sojourning here in 1216. Such an appeal would have been futile unless the burgesses backed it up with a fitting pecuniary donation, and it will be seen below that a satisfactory "fine" was forthcoming.

14th August, 18th John (1216). Mandate to the Mayor of Bristol to deliver 6 dolia (barrels) of wine to Philip de Albini.

20th August. Mandate to the Mayor of Bristol to deliver 10 dolia of wine to Walter de Lacy, and 10 dolia to furnish the Castle of Hereford.

21st August (when John was here). Mandate to Roger de Cordewaner, Mayor of Bristol, to deliver 15 dolia of wine to the Earl of Chester, 2 to John of Monmouth, and 2 to Colin de Ruetot.

28th August. Mandate to the Mayor of Bristol that 100 marks, part of the arrears of 500 marks of the Aid given by Bristol, should be delivered to Galfrid de Croucam and another.

30th August. Mandate to the Mayor of Bristol to give T. Teutonicus 15 marks for the work of the Queen *out of the fine that the burgesses have made to the King*.

5th September. The King acknowledges to the Mayor of Bristol the receipt of 2 dolia of wine at Oxford.

When it is added that the first letters patent issued by John's successor, Henry the Third, after his arrival here in the following November, were addressed to "the Mayor and honest burgesses of Bristol," the reader will be enabled to appreciate the accuracy of Mr. Seyer's assertion (*Memoirs*, ii., p. 7), that "it is unquestionable that at this time (Henry's sojourn) leave was given to the burgesses to choose a mayor annually" — an assertion rashly founded on "all our calendars."

As the corrections suggested in the following lists are based upon instruments in which the name of a mayor appears either as a witness or a functionary, it is of some moment to ascertain when the mayoral year actually began. Miss Toulmin Smith, in the preface to the printed synopsis

of the Mayor's Kalendar, observes that in Ricart's time "the year of the mayoralty began on the 15th September"; but this statement is contradictory to what Ricart himself asserts, and to deeds dated between the 15th and 28th September. Although highly probable, it is nevertheless not absolutely certain that the mayoralty always commenced on the Feast of St. Michael, as it did in many other English towns. But for centuries, and down to within living memory, the Mayors of Bristol under the old chartered system were not elected on that day, but on the Morrow of the Exaltation of the Cross —September 15th—when, Ricart says, the Common Council were expressly summoned for that purpose, "as it was ordained in the time of Stephen le Spicer, being Mayor in the XVIII year of King Edward the Third" (1344, the year in which the Council came into existence, according to the Little Red Book, p. 13). What custom prevailed previous to that date is unknown. Ricart goes on to state that, after a new mayor had been pitched upon, "the person so elected shall have his leisure to make his purveyance of his worshipful household and the honorable apparelling of his mansion in as pleasant and goodly wise as can be devised, until the festal day of St. Michael," on which day he was to be conducted to the Guildhall by the sheriff and members of the Council, when the outgoing mayor, in a customary form of address, transferred the insignia to his successor, and formally inducted him into the chair.

In the sixteenth century the date of the mayoral elections must have been temporarily altered, for on October 5th, 1570, the Common Council ordained that the election of mayors should thenceforth take place on the Morrow of the Exaltation of the Cross, "and at no other time, any former Ordinance to the contrary notwithstanding" (Egerton MSS., British Museum, 2044).

Another difficulty as to dates arises through the attestation of many deeds by the sheriff, as well as the mayor, after the creation of the former office. By the great charter of 1373, the Common Council were empowered to nominate

three discreet burgesses for the post, one of whom was to be selected by the Crown. Ricart does not inform us when the nomination by the Council took place, but presumably it followed after the election of mayor, on September 15th, for the Kalendar states that on the third day after Michaelmas it was the new mayor's duty to call his "brethren" together at the Guildhall—"there openly to read the sheriff's commission . . . and thereupon the sheriff to take his oath, . . . if so be that it (the King's commission) be then come." There is evidence that it did not always come with the promptness required by this arrangement. In September, 1421, as we learn from the Little Red Book, three burgesses were nominated for the shrievalty, but the royal writ selecting Nicholas Bagot was not sealed until October 12th, and cannot have reached Bristol until a couple of days later. On January 2nd, 1422, Bagot died, whereupon the Common Council at once assembled, chose three nominees for the vacancy, and despatched a report to the Lord Chancellor on the same day. It was not until January 28th, however, that a royal mandate was issued ordering the appointment of John Milton, who was to hold the office until October 12th, the anniversary of Bagot's selection. The shrieval year, therefore, to a certain extent depended upon the caprice of the Court of Chancery, and cannot have been precisely synchronous with the mayoral year until 1499, when, by the charter of Henry the Seventh the Common Council were empowered to appoint two bailiffs as sheriffs yearly, and were relieved from the interference of the Crown.

Few attempts have been made in the following lists to correct Ricart's orthography in reference to surnames, although numberless variations have been found in deeds and records. The spelling of English names down to nearly the close of the seventeenth century seems to have been largely a matter of personal taste. Any combination of letters phonetically equivalent was long deemed sufficient even in important documents. Thus the name of Sheriff Bagot, mentioned above, is spelt in four different ways by probably

the same corporate scribe, and the name of Wilcox gave rise to a perfect coruscation of varieties. A town clerk whose name abounds in the Great Book of Wills had clerks who never made up their minds whether their master's surname was Wilmot, Willymot, or Wyllymot. And a city chamberlain sometimes signed his own name Pitt and sometimes Pytt. Ricart was much less given to caprice than were most of his contemporaries, and may be fairly allowed to spell surnames in his own fashion. His Latinized rendering of Christian names, however, would if reproduced add greatly to the length of this paper by requiring a double line for nearly every year, without offering the reader any equivalent advantage, and they are therefore given in concise English.

For reasons that Miss Toulmin Smith did not explain, the list of civic officials given in the synopsis of the Mayor's Kalendar printed under her editorship by the Camden Society ceases to be a reproduction of Ricart's text after 1479—the identical year in which the Town Clerk began the book, to which he made his last contribution in 1503. After 1479 Miss Smith contented herself with giving the name of the mayor alone, and for eight of the remaining years of the century even this brief item of information was omitted. A jump was then made to 1522, and no less than forty-one Mayors were ignored between that year and 1600. The following list supplies these unaccountable deficiencies from the Kalendar itself. As a full roll of later corporate officers will be found in recent works, it is unnecessary to carry the Kalendar further, the accuracy of the civic records throughout the last three centuries being unimpeachable. It may be useful, however, to point out that the list of mayors, etc., in Mr. Pryce's *History of Bristol* is for upwards of 120 years erroneous. Repeating one of Ricart's slips, Pryce inserted for 1479 the dignitaries that he had already correctly assigned to 1478, and every subsequent entry is consequently post-dated a year until 1606, when an escape from further error was devised by bestowing two sets of

officers on a single year. The earlier portion of Pryce's roll is copied from that in *Barrett's History*, which, being extracted from one of the anonymous chronicles, is in many cases inaccurate both as to names and dates.

To save space, the locality of the deeds, etc., referred to in the following pages is indicated by letters, as follows:—

A. = All Saints' Parish
B. = British Museum
Br. = Braikenridge deeds
C.H. = Records, Council House
D. = Deeds, Council House
F. = Mr. Fox's deeds
J. = St. John's parish
Ja. = St. James' parish
L. = St. Leonard's parish
L.R.B. = Little Red Book
M. = Maryleport deeds
R.B. = Great Red Book
R. = Book of Recognizances
S. = Seyer and other deeds, Museum Library
T. = Tyson's copies, Museum Library
Th. = St. Thomas' parish
W. = Great Book of Wills

| | MAYORS. | PREPOSITORS. |
|---|---|---|
| 1216 | Roger Cordwaner (not in the Kalendar) | |
| 1216-7 | Adam le Page | Stephen Stanckyn, Reginald Hazarde |
| 1217-8 | Martin Undiryate | Richard Martyn, Hugh Upwell |
| 1218-9 | John at Hulle | Richard le Palmer, John Snowe |
| 1219-20 | Robert Holburst | John Oldeham, Henry Vynepeny |
| 1220-1 | Roger de Stanes | Peter le Goldsmyth, Robt. de Monmouth |
| 1221-2 | Walter Mombray | John de Romney, Philip le Cok |
| 1222-3 | John de Berdewyke | Robert de Weston, William Daxe |
| 1223-4 | James de Rowborowe | Thomas le Spycer, Walter de Ubbeley |
| 1224-5 | Walter de Wyntone | Robert Martyn, John Methelam |
| 1225-6 | Hugh de Fayreforde | Richard de Bury, John de Bradewar |
| 1226-7 | John de Mersshefielde | William Colpek, Nicholas Coker |
| 1227-8 | Henry le Long | Alex. Rope, Henry de Camen |
| 1228-9 | Nicholas Heyhome | William Tyarde, Richard Bryan |
| 1229-30 | John Bruselaunce | Nich. de Portbury, Wm. le Hayle |
| 1230-1 | Henry de Berewyke | Ralph Atteslupe, Walter le Rede |
| 1231-2 | Elyas Sprynghame | John de Kerodief, John at Walle |
| 1232-3 | Walter le Fraunceis | Henry le Walleys, Thos. de Pedyrton |
| 1233-4 | Richard Aylard | Gilb. le Plommer, Thos. le Chalner |
| 1234-5 | Jurdon Browne | Thomas Updicke, John Ergleys |
| 1235-6 | James le Warre | William Clerk, John le Belyeter |

A Br. deed, undated, gives La Warre as mayor and William de Bello Monte and Walter de Paris as prepositors.

A D. deed joins La Warre to Bello Monte alone, while another gives La Warre, Bello Monte and Simon Clerk.

| | MAYORS. | PREPOSITORS. |
|---|---|---|
| 1236-7 | Richard Horston | William Golde, Rich. de Bury |
| 1237-8 | Philip de Powlet | Thos. Ayleward, Roger Cantok |
| 1238-9 | Richard Forstall | David le Wight, Rich. de Leymstre |
| 1239-40 | Richard Aylard | William Tonarde, John Northfolke |

In the agreement made with the Abbot of St. Augustine's (March, 1240), with the view of widening the Froom, the mayor's name is correctly given as Aylward. In three J. deeds, undated, the prepositors joined with Aylward are Henry Langbord and William FitzNichol.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1240-1 | Thomas de Weston | Richard Osmonde, John de Callan |
| 1241-2 | Robert le Bele | William de Chilton, Henry le Cheyner |
| 1242-3 | William Clerk | Wm. de Bellomonte, Rob. Kylmanan |

Two undated B. deeds style Wm. "de Beaumont" and Robt. "de Kilmeynam" *bailiffs*, an office which, according to Ricart, was not created until 1310.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1243-4 | William Spakstone | Wm. de Leigh, Robt. Parmenter |
| 1244-5 | Ralph Monjoy | Paul Cute, Roger Snake |

An S. deed, dated November, 1244, styles the mayor Simon Clerk, and two undated St. Peter's deeds (T.) give Simon le Clerc, mayor, and Wm. de Berwic and Roger de Cantok, prepositors.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1245-6 | Elyas de Axbrige | John de Sancta Barba, Ric. de Tylley |
| 1246-7 | Reginald de Penes | John de Weston, Walt. de Berkham |

A St. Peter's deed (T.) of this mayoralty gives Reginald de Lantok and John de Lydiard as "bailiffs," while an F. deed also gives Sanekyn Reynward and John Clerk as bailiffs.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1247-8 | Geoffry le White | Walter Tropyn, William Snake |
| 1248-9 | John Adryan | Walter Talmage, Henry Farneham |
| 1249-50 | Roger de Bury | Thos. de Norwodde, John Cornehill |
| 1250-1 | Elyas Long | Rob. de Bello Monte, Gil. de Marle Orege |

An undated S. deed gives "Elya Longo loco maioris," with Marlebrege and Nicholas de Lyons prepositors. A

R.O. deed gives le Long, Merleberge and de Lyons, and so do the Patent Rolls, 34 Henry III.

| | MAYORS. | PREPOSITORS. |
|---|---|---|
| 1251-2 | Thomas le Rous | John at Knolle, Robert at Wodde |
| 1252-3 | Reynold de Wight | Ralph Oldeham, Wm. Hazildene |
| 1253-4 | Henry Adryan | Hugh Mychell, William Sevare |
| 1254-5 | Adam de Berkham | Robert Shyrley, Wm. Frebody |
| 1255-6 | Robt. de Kilmaynan | John Berwyk, Roger Golde |

It seems probable that William FitzNicholas was the original mayor of this year, and that he died in office. Two S. deeds, two J. deeds, and one Br. all give FitzNicholas as mayor, and Kilmanan and Berwyk as prepositors.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1256-7 | Roger de Berkham | Hugh Mychell, Wm. de Berwyk |

A terrible famine and doubtless great mortality marked this period. Two deeds (Br. and T.) give John Kenefig and Wm. de Brug as prepositors, three deeds (S., M., and J.) give Robert de Kilmeynam and Roger de Cantoc, while a document in Wells Cathedral gives de Berkham as mayor and Reginald Goold as prepositor.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1257-8 | Roger de Stokes | Thomas Eldesham, Robt. Pykerage |
| 1258-9 | Clement de Romeney | Roger Pepyr, Thos. Wynfyelde |
| 1259-60 | Wm. de Gloucestre | John Hertishorne, Robt. Horneby |
| 1260-1 | John de Lyme | Ralph le Brydde, Stephen le Cokke |
| 1261-2 | Robt. de Kilmaynan | Thomas Trenwyth, Rich. de Russhton |
| 1262-3 | Adam de Berkham | Thomas de Hanyngfield, Geof. Ussher |
| 1263-4 | Thomas le Rous | Henry de Puxton, Robt. Trenworth |
| 1264-5 | Henry Adryan | Thomas Caperon, Will. Chadborn |
| 1265-6 | Stephen Ormeston | Ralph Bawdevyn, John Exhull |

Ricart henceforth styles the inferior officers SENESCHALS, but it will be seen presently that prepositors were not discontinued.

| | MAYORS. | SENESCHALS. |
|---|---|---|
| 1266-7 | Thomas Selby | Reginald Ricard, John Peperton |
| 1267-8 | Symon Clerk | John Wissy, Hugh Mychell |

Seven deeds in which Clerk or le Clerk appears as mayor give also two prepositors: three (S.) have Roger de Cantok and Wm. de Berewyk, two (Br.) Symon Adryan and Wm. de la Marina, one (Br.) Henry Adrian and Martin de

Corderia, and one (J.) Wm. FitzNicholas and Walter Mittelyme.

| | MAYORS. | SENESCHALS. |
|---|---|---|
| 1268-9 | Robert Mauncell | John Legat, Peter Martre |
| 1269-70 | Roger Fissher | Symon Adryan, Roger Draper |

Two Br. deeds give Richard Piscator, mayor; Nich. le Tayllur, Walter Franceys, "bailiffs."

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1270-1 | Ralph Palden | Rich. Austyn, Thos. Hazeldene |
| 1271-2 | John Wissy | Roger de Canto, Wm. Berwyk |

A B. deed joins to "Wissi" Wm. de la Marine, prepositor.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1272-3 | Richard de Wellis | Robt. Snoward, Symon de Wedmore |
| 1273-4 | Peter de Keynesham | John Salekene, Ralph de Axe |
| 1274-5 | Thos. de Hamelesden | Symon Adryan, Wm. de Marina |

A Br. deed styles Adryan and "de la Marine" prepositors. One S. deed gives Walter Fraunceys and Rich. Draper, "bailiffs"; and another gives, also as bailiffs, Henry Walouse and Rich. le Roper.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1275-6 | Gerard le Fraunces | John de Portisheued, Rob. Lancastle |
| 1276-7 | Symon de Bardeney | Rob. de Kyngeswod, Reg. le Eu |
| 1277-8 | John Lydeyarde | Robert Trewelove, Wm. le Skryven |

Six deeds of "de Lydiard's" mayoralty join him with prepositors. Four of them (Br., 2 S. and F.) have Saekin Rainward and Wal. de Bercham, and two (Br.) have Wm. de la Marina, his colleague in one instance being Walter Francois and in the other Wm. de Blakeford.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1278-9 | Roger le Tavyrner | John Bryan, Nicholas at Oke |

An S. deed of February, 1279, has Rich. de Manegodesfeld as mayor, and Simon Adrian and Rich. Draper as "bailiffs." The same names appear in two other S. deeds.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1279-80 | Peter de Romeney | John Hodde, Thomas Colston |
| 1280-1 | William Beauflure | John de Kerdyef, Rob. de Wylmersshe |
| 1281-2 | Nicholas Horncastell | Wm. de Wedmore, Robt. Goldyng |
| 1282-3 | Thomas Coker | Richard atte Ok, Wm. de Boys |
| 1283-4 | Peter de Romeney | Richard Tombrell, Wm. Wychewell |
| 1284-5 | Rich. Mangottesfield | Henry Thorncastell, Geof. Snell |

Two Br. deeds give the seneschal's name as Horncastle.

1285-6 Rich. Mangottesfielde Thomas de Weston, John Tony

An S. deed dated June, 1286, and a B. deed join with the mayor Thomas de Weston and Wm. de la Marine, "bailiffs."

| | MAYORS. | SENESCHALS. |
|---|---|---|
| 1286-7 | John le Warre | William Hawden, Thos. Prestlay |

The Assize Roll of May, 1287 (R.O.), has Richard le Manegodesfelde, mayor. A Br. deed undated joins Manegodsfeld with Walter le Francys, Geof. Godeshalf, "bailiffs." A C.H. undated deed joins Manegodsfelde with Godeshalf and Rich. Spicer, jun., "bailiffs."

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1287-8 | Roger de Grafton | Thomas Royston, John Benyngton |
| 1288-9 | Richard le Draper | John de Cheddre, John le Longe |

A dated B. deed joins Rich. Draper with Geoffry Agodeshalf and Simon de Boritone, prepositors, and a dated I. deed gives the same officials, but styles Godeshalf and de Bortone bailiffs.

1289-90 Rich. Mangottesfielde Simon de Burton, Wm. de Randolf

Three S. and two A. undated deeds give bailiffs apparently for this year. Four name Walter Franceys and three Thomas de la Grave. The other names are Rich. Draper, jun., Hen. Walense, and Wm. de la Marine.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1290-1 | Roger Turtle | John Fraunces, Hugh de Langbrige |
| 1291-2 | Thomas de Tilley | Walter Glenne, Simon Rycrofte |
| 1292-3 | Walter le Fraunces | Geof. A. Goddeshalf, John le Tavirner |

A Br., an S., and a C.H. deed give Godeshalf and Thomas de Weston as "bailiffs."

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1293-4 | Symon de Burton | John Snowe, John de Cheddre |
| 1294-5 | Symon de Burton | Robt. de Otery, Nich. de Roborough |

Three dated deeds of this mayoralty (Br., T., and S.) concur in giving Thomas de la Grave and Wm. Randolph as bailiffs. A B. deed styles them prepositors. The Br. deed adds John de Cheddre and John Snow, seneschals.

1295-6 Symon de Burton Robt. de Otery, Wm. de Roborowe

It will be seen that Ricart, or the authority he followed, has practically repeated the entry for the previous year.

Dated Br. and T. deeds give John Snow and Wm. Tortle as seneschals. Another Br. deed gives John Snow and Nich. le Ropere, while an A. deed gives John de Bruges and Rich. Colpek. The former Br. deed gives Henry de Camme and Wm. Turtle as bailiffs, and an S. deed gives the bailiffs as Wm. Turtle and Rich. Colpec, while the A. deed has Wm. Turtle and John le Taverner.

| | MAYORS. | SENESCHALS. |
|---|---|---|
| 1296-7 | William Randalf | Thomas Updyche, Robt. Hobbusshe |

An A. deed of June, 26 Edward I. (or 1298), probably misdated, gives Randolf as mayor, Wm. Turtle and John le Taverner as bailiffs, and John de Bruges and Rich. Colpek as seneschals. An S. deed, undated, gives Randolph as mayor and John le Taverner as bailiff.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1297-8 | John Snowe | John le Lung, Adam Welishot |
| 1298-9 | Rich. de Mangottisfield | Godf. A. Goddeshalf, Wm. le Mariner |
| 1299—1300 | Roger Turtle | John Frauncis, Hugh de Langbrige |
| 1300-1 | Thomas de Tylley | Rich. Collepyt, Wm. de Glastinbury |

Two S. deeds of this mayoralty give Philip de Poulden (and Poulet) and Rich. Colpek as bailiffs.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1301-2 | Walter Adryan | Robert Bostock, John Harssall |
| 1302-3 | Thomas de la Grave | John Tyke, Roger Benflour |
| 1303-4 | Symon de Burton | Wm. Updyche, Robt. Horehurst |
| 1304-5 | Symon de Burton | Rob. de Otrey, Nich. de Rowborowe |
| 1305 6 | William Randalf | John de Cheddre, John le Long |

Two A. deeds of this mayoralty give Rich. Colpek and Phil. de Pouleth as bailiffs. Two others (S. and Br.) state that the bailiffs were Thos. Oppedich and Robt. de Holhurst.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1306-7 | John Snowe | Nich. de Burton, Thos. de Berwyk |

Three deeds (S., L., and J.) style the minor officers "bailiffs."

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1307-8 | John le Tavyrner | Wm. de Olyef, Gilb. Pokerell |

A B. deed gives as "bailiffs" Wm. de Clyve (the correct name) and Pokerel; but two Br. and one J. deed give John de Kerdif, jun., and Robert Trewelove as bailiffs.

| | MAYORS. | SENESCHALS. |
|---|---|---|
| 1308-9 | John le Tavyrner | Robert de Otrey, Adam Welishot |
| 1309-10 | William Randalf | John Romney, Walter Tropyn |

Three A. deeds and one Br. give John de Methelen and John Wachet as bailiffs.

Ricart at this point changes the name of the minor officers to BAILIFFS, but seneschals will be found below.

| | MAYORS. | BAILIFFS. |
|---|---|---|
| 1310-1 | John du Seler | Thomas le Spysor, Robt. Randalf |
| 1311-2 | William Hore | John Beauflour, Thos. le Spicer |

Two Br. and one S. deed call the mayor William de Axe. Many men were then known by two surnames.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1312-3 | John le Tavyrner | Law. de Cary, Rich. le White, seneschals |

The Rolls of Parliament state that John de Horncastle and Rich. Legat were bailiffs in this mayoralty; but the Patent and Close Rolls call Wm. de Clyfe and Gil. Pokerel bailiffs. An S. deed of 7 Edward II., April (1314), gives Taverner, mayor; Wm. de Clife, bailiff; and Robt. de Horhurst, seneschal. The regnal year is probably erroneous.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1313-4 | Reginald de Panys | Ralph Wynemon, John le Hunt |
| 1314-5 | William Randolf | Robt. le Holburst, John Walishot |
| 1315-6 | Robert Passour | Rich. Colpek, Henry Vynypeny |

The officers for the three above years had no legal power to act, the king having taken the town into his own hands during Taverner's mayoralty. It is, moreover, impossible that Randolf can have been mayor, for he and his adherents had been driven out of the borough. A J. deed of January, 1316, styles Henry le Mariner *locum tenens* mayor; Robt. Wyldmersh, Thomas le Espicer, bailiffs; while a F. deed of February has the same bailiffs, but gives Taverner as mayor. A royal document of 1316, referring to the three years' insurrection, calls two of the illegal mayors Gilbert Pokerel and William de Clyf.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1316-7 | Roger Tortle | John Fraunces, sen., Hugh de Langbrige |

As the king did not restore its franchises to Bristol until December 16th, 1316, the above officers must have been

elected after that date. A J. deed of June, 1317, and an A. deed of July gives as bailiffs Thos. le Spicer and John de Romeseye, who are placed by Ricart in the following year.

| | MAYORS. | BAILIFFS. |
|---|---|---|
| 1317-8 | Roger Tortle | Thomas le Spicer, John de Rumsey |

A Br. deed of this mayoralty gives Robert Otry and Wm. Corteys, "seneschals"; John Fraunceys, Hugh de Langebrugge, bailiffs.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1318-9 | Richard de Tilley | Rich. de Paynes, Ric. le White Iremonger |

Five deeds (B., Br., and T.) confirm this, giving the name of the second bailiff as it stands above, though one of them calls him Ralph.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1319-20 | Richard de Tilley | Wm. Hanyngfield, Hugh le Prowte |
| 1320-1 | Richard de Tilley | Gilbert Pokerell, Clement Turtle |
| 1321-2 | Richard de Tilly | Gilb. Puckerell, Clement Turtle |
| 1322-3 | William de Axe | Robt. de Lutelbury, Geof. de Wroxall |
| 1323-4 | John de Keynesham | Everard le Fraunces, Step. le Spicer |
| 1324-5 | John de Rumsey | Gilb. Puckerell, Henry de Eston |

Ricart's authority has here misled him. Eight deeds exist (2 B., A., 3 Br., C.H., and R.B.), dated between October, 1324, and August, 1325, which all agree in giving Roger Turtle, mayor, and John de Romney and Walter Prentez, bailiffs. Two also give the seneschals—John de Romesey and John atte Wall.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1325-6 | John de Rumney | John Fraunces, Walter Prentice |

The mayor was really John de Rumsey according to five deeds (3 Br., T., and A.), which concur as to the bailiffs.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1326-7 | Roger Turtle | Robert Gyen, Everard Fraunces |
| 1327-8 | Roger Turtle | Robert Gyen, Everard Fraunces |
| 1328-9 | Hugh Langebrige | Josias le Rayny, Nicholas le Freo |
| 1329-30 | John Fraunces | John atte Wall, Henry de Frampton |

There is some mistake here. No deed has been found for 1328-9, but six (2 A., 2 J., Br., and S.), dated between November, 1329, and July, 1330, concur in giving Langebrige as mayor and le Rayny and le Freo as bailiffs. One of them adds the seneschals—John Fraunceys and Stephen

le Spicer. In the Patent Roll of August, 1330, Langbrige is also called mayor, and John Fraunceys, jun., and Robert Gydeling bailiffs. Can Ricart have transposed two lines of his manuscript?

| | MAYORS. | BAILIFFS. |
|---|---|---|
| 1330-1 | John de Axbrige | Roger Pluste, Henry Babcary |

Eight deeds spell the first bailiff's name Plof or Pluf.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1331-2 | Roger Turtle | Stephen le Spycer, Henry Babcary |

A B. deed (the only one found for the year) gives Hugh Langbrugge, mayor; Robert Guyen and Walter Prentiz, bailiffs.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1332-3 | Roger Turtle | Stephen le Spycer, Henry Babcary |

Corroborated by five deeds, one of which gives the seneschals—Robert de Holhurst and Everard le Fraunceys.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1333-4 | Everard le Fraunces | Josias le Rayny, Thomas Torpen |

An S. deed gives also Walter Prentiz and Rich. Edmond, seneschals.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1334-5 | Roger Turtle | James de Rayny, Peter Testyne |

Probably the minor officers here given were the seneschals. Five deeds (4 S. and T.), and also the L.R.B., give Robert Gyene and Robt. de Wryngton as bailiffs.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1335-6 | Hugh de Langbrige | Stephen le Spycer, Thomas Torpen |
| 1336-7 | Roger Turtle | Rich. de Calne, Walter de Pelevile |

Eight deeds of this mayoralty (4 S., 3 Br., and J.) concur in naming Stephen le Spicer and Robt. de Wryngton as bailiffs. One of them adds Josias de Rayny and Phil. de Torytone, seneschals.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1337-8 | Everard le Fraunces | Thomas Tilley, John de Lexam |

Seven deeds of this year (2 A., Th., and 4 Br.) give Thomas Tropyn and John Rial de Lym, or John de Lym, as bailiffs.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1338-9 | Stephen le Spycer | Robt. de Wryngton, John le Spycer |

Seven deeds of this mayoralty (J., 2 Br., and 4 S.) concur in naming James Tilly and Thomas (in one case Robt.) de Wells as bailiffs.

| MAYORS. | BAILIFFS. |
|---|---|
| 1339-40 Everard le Fraunces | Thomas Torpyn, John de Cobynton |

Four deeds of this year (2 S., 2 Br.) give Robt. de Wryngton and John Gotorest as bailiffs. Another gives John le Spicer as Wryngton's colleague, but Gotorest and le Spicer were the same man. (*See* 1348-9.)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1340-1 Roger Turtle | James Tylley, Thomas Blanket |
| 1341-2 Roger Turtle | Thomas Turpyn, Thos. Blanket |

The last of the above lines is the commencement of a series of errors. In the Patent Roll for August, 1342, is a writ directed to Eborard le Freynshe, mayor, and four deeds (B., 2 Br., and A.) give le Frensch as mayor, and Thomas Tropyn and John Cokington, Colington, or Cobynton as bailiffs.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1342-3 Robert de Wryngton | John Curteys, William Hanny |

The actual officials of this year were the men given by Ricart in 1341-2, Turtle, Tropyn and Blanket. Five deeds (A., Th., and 3 S.) concur in this correction.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1343-4 Stephen le Spycer | William Haynes, Thomas Albon |

The real officials were those incorrectly given for the previous year—Wryngton, Curteys and Hany (so spelt in five deeds—J., S., and 3 Br.). One of these adds the seneschals, John de Wycombe and John de Colynton. Further corroboration is in R.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1344-5 Stephen le Spycer | William Haynes, Thomas Albon |

The accuracy of this entry is proved by R. and many deeds. It was the duplication of the names in 1341-2 that caused the above confusion.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1345-6 Robert Gyen | John Nele, James Tilley |

Two deeds of this mayoralty give the seneschals—Philip de Toryngton and Thomas Colston.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1346-7 Robert Gyen | Robt. Godemer, William Hanny |

This is another error. The L.R.B., various entries in R., and five deeds (A., S., and 3 Br.) concur in giving John de Wycombe as mayor and Robt. Beauflour and Randolph de Newemaister as bailiffs.

| MAYORS. | BAILIFFS. |
|---|---|
| 1347-8 Robert Wryngtone | Roger Beauner, Wal. Wenelake |

That Robert Gyen was mayor in this year is attested by eight deeds (4 Br., S., 2 Th., and C.H.) all give Beauner (one calling him Boatmar); but seven give William Hany as his colleague, who possibly died whilst bailiff, for the eighth and latest in date gives Walter Wenlok. The seneschals were Thomas Blanket and Robt. de Baath (Br.).

1348-9 John le Spycer — John Cobyndon, Robt. Prentise

One out of many deeds of this year (B.) calls the mayor John Goderes, which was really le Spycer's name (*see* 1339-40). Many deeds name the seneschals—John de Lym and Thos. Babcary.

1349-50 Robert Gyen — Edmund Blanket, John Castelcare

Many deeds add John de Lym (or Real de Lym) and John Wryngton, seneschals.

1350-1 John Wycombe — Reginald le Frensshe, Wm. Combe

Many deeds add Walter de Frampton and Wm. Hayl, seneschals.

1351-2 John Spycer — Walter Derby, Robert Cheddre

Two Th. deeds, the only parchments of the year, give John le Spicer as mayor, John de Cobyndon and Richard Hurelt as bailiffs, and Thomas de Coventrie and Walter Kibbe as seneschals.

1352-3 John Cobynton — John Castelcare, Thos. de Coventre

The only deed of this period (Br., August, 1353) gives Edmund Blanket, mayor; Walter Derby, Robt. Seward, of Cheddre, bailiffs; Rich. de Bremdon, John Castelacre, seneschals.

1353-4 Richard le Spycer — Robt. at Welle, John Stoke

Unconfirmed. There are good grounds for believing that the mayoralty of Cobynton (*see* last item) really took place in this year. Two A. and two S. deeds, dated in February, March, and April, 1354, give Cobynton as mayor and de Coventre and "Castelacre" as bailiffs. One of them adds the seneschals—John Sampsoun and John Hankeston.

| | MAYORS. | BAILIFFS. |
|---|---|---|
| 1354-5 | Richard le Spycer | John Stoke, Richard le Dene |

Affirmed by R. and two Br. deeds, both of which give the seneschals—Hugh Frompton and William Coumbe.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1355-6 | Thomas Babcare | Richard Inhyng, John Cobynton |

John Blanket and John Hakston were the seneschals of the year (S., 2 Br.).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1356-7 | Reginald Frensshe | Walter Derby, Thomas Inhyng |

Elias Spelly and John Wotton were seneschals (S.).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1357-8 | Walter Frampton | Richard Brandon, Geof. Benflour |
| 1358-9 | Reginald Frensshe | John Soor, Henry Vyell |

Michael Gode and Walter Kelle were seneschals (A.).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1359-60 | Thomas Babcare | Walter Derby John Stoke |

Thomas Inhyne and Henry Cobyndon were seneschals (A., Br., and S.).

At this point, through the omission of the actual mayor and bailiffs for 1360-1, Ricart's chronological lists are vitiated for thirteen years, each set of officers for that period being ante-dated a year. The facts are attested by upwards of fifty deeds in various collections, which it would be tedious to refer to in detail, and corroborative evidence may be found in L.R.B., R., and the Patent Rolls.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1360-1 | Robert Cheddre | Elias Spelle, Wil. Somerwell |

The actual officials were Richard Spicer (or Hurell), John Hakeston, Walter Derby. The seneschals were Adam Pountfret, Bernard Reed (2 J., B.).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1361-2 | Richard Bramdon | Walter Derby, Wm. Canynges |

The real officials were Cheddre, Spelle and Somerwell, with John Wotton and Henry Cobyndon, seneschals.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1362-3 | Robert Cheddre | Elys Spelle, Henry Wiliston |

The real officials were the above Bramdon, Derby and Canynges, with Henry Cobyndon and Wm. Priston, seneschals. One S. deed names John Wilkyns and John Wotton as seneschals.

| MAYORS. | BAILIFFS. |
|---|---|
| 1363-4 Walter Derby | Henry Wylliston, Wm. Wodderove |

The actual officials were the above Cheddre, Spelly and "Wyveliscombe."

1364-5 John Stoke — William Hayle, John Bate

The real officials were Derby, "Wyveliscombe" and "Woodford."

1365-6 Walter Frampton — John Sloo, Henry Williston

The real officials were Stoke, Hayle and "Bathe," with William Erlyngham and Alex. Mois, seneschals.

1366-7 John Stokes — Wm. Somerwell, John Kene

Should be "Frompton," Sloo and "Wyveliscombe."

1367-8 Walter Derby — William Dagon, John Blount

The only deed of this year (B.) gives "Stoke," Somerwell and Richard Chamberlain. R. gives Stokes only.

1368-9 John Bathe — John Blount, John Vyell

Ten deeds give Derby, Wm. Bacon and John Bount. The seneschals were Geof. Wermynstre and Walter Muleward.

1369-70 Elyas Spelly — Wm. Canynges, John Vyell

Ten deeds give Bathe, "Bount" and "Vyel." Thomas Carpenter and John Somerwell were seneschals (2 S.).

1370-1 John Bathe — Thomas Beupeny, Henry Vyell

For which read Spelly, Canynges and Vyell, as above.

1371-2 Richard Spycer — John Inhyng, John Preston

Actual officials: Bathe, Beupeny and Vyel, as above.

1372-3 Wm. Canynges, John Vyell (sheriff), Thos. Sampson, Wal. Stodley

The office of sheriff was not created until October, 1373, after the close of this mayoral year. The real officers were Richard Spycer, "Prischton" and "Inhyne" (R.).

| MAYORS. | SHERIFFS AND BAILIFFS. | |
|---|---|---|
| 1373-4 The last entry repeated, and the error in dates disappears. | | |
| 1374-5 Walter Frampton | Thos. Beupeny | none |

L.R.B., R.B. and two deeds give Thomas Sutton and Reg. Towker as bailiffs. A Th. deed gives "Toukar" only.

| | MAYORS. | SHERIFFS AND BAILIFFS. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1375-6 | William Canynges | Henry Vyell | none |

R.B. gives John Stoke, Walter Frompton, bailiffs.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1376-7 | Walter Derby | Wm. Somerwell, Wm. Combe, Thos. Knappe |
| 1377-8 | Thomas Beupeny | Walt. Studley, Thos. Sampson, Wal. Tyddeley |

R., R.B., L R.B., and two deeds (S. and Br.) show that "Tedistille" was sheriff and Studley and Sampson were bailiffs.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1378-9 | Elyas Spelly | Wm. Combe, Wm. Erlingham, John Stanes |
| 1379-80 | John Stokes | Thos. Knappe, John Stanes, John Barstable |
| 1380-1 | Walter Derby | Wm. Somerwell, Robt. Candevir, Wm. Canynges |

From entries in R., R.B., and W., and a Th. deed, it would seem that John Staynes, one of the original bailiffs, died, and that *John* Canynges succeeded.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1381-2 | William Canynges | John Candevir, Wal. Saymour, John Preston |

Three deeds (2 J., A.) of October, 1381, give Walter Burford as a bailiff. He probably died, as later deeds give Saymour.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1382-3 | Elyas Spelly | John Canynges, John Stanes, Wm. Warmynster |
| 1383-4 | Thomas Beaupeny | Rob. Candevir, John Somerwell, Peter Barogh |
| 1384-5 | Walter Derby | Thos. Sampson, John Yonge, Wm. Draper |

Five deeds give Wm. Solers as the second bailiff, none have Draper. The man had probably two names. (*See* 1393-4.)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1385-6 | Wm. Canynges | John Somervell, Rog. Touker, John Tryt |
| 1386-7 | Thomas Knappe | Peter Barogh, Wm. Frome, Thos. at Hay |
| 1387-8 | William Somerwell | Wm. Frome, Thos. Colston, Wm. Sewell |
| 1388-9 | John Vyell | Wm. Wodroof, Thos. at Hay, John Stephins |

The sheriff's name is Wodeford in twenty instruments.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1389-90 | Wm. Canynges | John Barstable, John Banbury, Jno. Haveryng |

Banbury is called Toby and Tokey in several deeds.

| | MAYORS. | SHERIFFS AND BAILIFFS. |
|---|---|---|
| 1390-1 | Elyas Spelly | Thos. at Hay, Rob. Dudbroke, John Selwodde |

Spelly died January 13th, 1391, and was succeeded by Thomas Knap. Possibly At Hay died also, for his name is five times omitted in civil documents (W. and R.B.) and in two deeds (M. and Th.).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1391-2 | Thomas Knappe | John Banbury, John Burton, Rich. Hanteford |
| 1392-3 | John Canynges | Wal. Saymour, Thos. Norton, Ric. Brokworth |
| 1393-4 | John Somerwell | John Havering, Wm. Solers, Thos. Blont |

Solers is again called Draper in a B. deed.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1394-5 | William Frome | John Stephins, John Pryston, John Castell |
| 1395-6 | John Barstaple | Roger Towker, Rob. Dudbroke, John Castell |

Towker is called Roger Taillor in R.B. and deeds, as he was in 1385-6. R.W. and deeds call the second bailiff Sudbury.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1396-7 | Thomas Knappe | Wm. Warmnystr, Rob. Brokworth, John Hardewyk |
| 1397-8 | John Banbury | John Pryston, Wm. Draper, Hen. Bokerell |

Draper is always called Solers in civic documents and in four deeds (Br., S., and 2 Th.).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1398-9 | John Canynges | Rob. Baxster, John Lemman, John Sodbury |

A Ja. deed of October 4th, 1398, shows that John Pryston was still in office as sheriff.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1399—1400 | Thomas Knappe | Thos. Blont, Thos. Gloucestr, Geof. Barbour |
| 1400-1 | William Frome | Rob. Dudbroke, Mark William, John Sely |

In one, W., William is called Mark Spaynell.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1401-2 | John Barstaple | Thos. Norton, Rich. Panys, Simon Algode |
| 1402-3 | John Stephins | John Sely, Thos. Yonge, Nich. Excestr |
| 1403-4 | Thos. Knappe | Thos. Gloucestr, John Droyes, Adam Inhyng |

Knapp probably died in June, 1404. Many later documents give John Barstaple as mayor.

| | MAYORS. | SHERIFFS AND BAILIFFS. |
|---|---|---|
| 1404-5 | Robert Dudbroke | John Droyes, Rob. Russell, Gilb. Joce |
| 1405-6 | John Barstaple | Mark William, John Cleve, John Newton |
| 1406-7 | John Droyes | John Fissher, Jas. Cokkes, Dav. Dudbroke |
| 1407-8 | Thomas Blount | Thos. Yonge, John Spyne, Rob. Barstable |

An L. deed of July, the latest of the year, gives Robt. Shipward as the second bailiff.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1408-9 | John Fissher | John Cleve, John Sharpe, John Leycestr |
| 1409-10 | John Droys | James Cokkes, John Sutton, Wm. Benley |
| 1410-1 | John Sely | Nich. Excestr, Rob. Colvelde, Wal. Parle |

Cokkes was still acting as sheriff on October 11th (2 L.).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1411-2 | Thomas Yonge | John Spyne, Wm. Stephins, Dav. Ruddok |
| 1412-3 | John Cleve | John Sharpe, Thos. Hendy, Wm. Baret |
| 1413-4 | Thomas Norton | John Newton, Wm. Westirley, Wal. Milton |
| 1414-5 | John Droyes | Rob. Russell, John Draper, John Milton |
| 1415-6 | John Sharpe | Wm. Beneley, Nich. Baggod, John Shipward |
| 1416-7 | Thomas Blount | Dav. Dudbroke, John Burton, Nich. Devenyssh |
| 1417-8 | Robert Russell | John Leycestr, Roger Levedon, Wal. Milton |

Dudbroke was still sheriff in October, 1417, as was Leycester in the following year (2 J.).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1418-9 | John Newtone | John Burtone; Thos. Halwey, John Langley |
| 1419-20 | James Cokkes | Dav. Ruddok; Hen. Gildeney, Thos. Fisshe |
| 1420-1 | Thomas Yong | Roger Lyvedon; Rich. Trenolde, John Coton |
| 1421-2 | John Spyne | Nich. Bagod; Rich. Anves, Edm. Browne |

Bagod died January 2nd, 1422 (L.R.B.). There was no sheriff in January. Afterwards John Milton was appointed for the remainder of the year (B., 2 Br.), and was still serving on November 2nd, 1422 (A.).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1422-3 | Mark William | Rich. Trenolde; Thomas Erle, John Peers |
| 1423-4 | John Burton | Thos. Halwey; John Heethe, Ric. Elysaundir |
| 1424-5 | John Leycestre | Thomas Erle; John Sharpe, John Hoke |
| 1425-6 | John Cleve | Rob. Colvelde; Wal. Power, John Snethe |

| | MAYORS. | SHERIFFS AND BAILIFFS. |
|---|---|---|
| 1426-7 | Robert Russell | Nich. Devenyssh; Clem. Bagod, Hugh Wethyforde |
| 1427-8 | John Newtone | John Sharpe; Andrew Parle, John Eyre |
| 1428-9 | Roger Levedone | Hen. Gyldeney; John Talbot, John Troyte |
| 1429-30 | John Burton | John Shipwarde; Rich. Foster, John Alburton |
| 1430-1 | John Leycestr | Hugh Withiforde; Wm. Dunstar, John Papenham |
| 1431-2 | Richard Trenolde | Clement Bagod; John Spycer, Nich. Freme |
| 1432-3 | John Sharpe | Rich. Arveys; Thos. Noreys, Wm. Canynges |
| 1433-4 | John Fissher | Rich. Foster; John Englissh, Thos. Markes |
| 1434-5 | Thomas Halleway | Thos. Fissher; Rich. Roper, John Stanley |
| 1435-6 | John Milton | John Spycer; Nich. Hille, Wm. Clynche |

The mayor died February 2nd, 1436, and Nicholas Devenyssh was appointed as his successor on the 3rd (L.R.B.).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1436-7 | Richard Forster | Walter Powere; Wm. Codir, John Forde |
| 1437-8 | Clement Bagod | Nich. Freme; Thos. Hore, Thos. Balle |
| 1438-9 | Hugh Wethrforde | Wm. Canynges; Thos. Mede, John Gosselyn |

The mayor's name is Withyford in many documents.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1439-40 | John Sharpe | Rich. Roper; Wm. Pavy, John Shipwarde |
| 1440-1 | Nicholas Freme | John Stanley; John Wethrforde, Wm. Howell |
| 1441-2 | William Canynges | John Shipward; Nich. Stone, Rob. Sturmy |
| 1442-3 | Clement Bagod | Nich. Hill; Rich. Hatter, Rich. Haddon |
| 1443-4 | John Stanley | Wm. Codir; Wm. Skyrmot, Wm. Powneham |
| 1444-5 | John Shipwarde | John Foorde; Philip Mede, Thos. Rogers |
| 1445-6 | Nicholas Hille | John Bolton; Rich. Marshall, Ric. Bailly |
| 1446-7 | Richard Forster | John Troyte; Wm. Dam, Wm. Talbot |
| 1447-8 | Richard Forster | Thos. Balle; Wm. Rolffe, John Wykam |
| 1448-9 | John Burton | Wm. Pavy; John Estmonde, John Benet |
| 1449-50 | William Canynges | Thos. Hore; Rich. Alberton, Wm. Spencer |
| 1450-1 | John Burton | Robt. Sturmy; John Sharpe, Wm. Dillyng |
| 1451-2 | John Stanley | Rich. Hatter; Robt. Jakys, John Hooper |

Jakys in his will calls himself Jacob, *alias* Jakes.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1452-3 | William Codir | Thos. Mede; Thos. Asshe, Wm. Raynes |
| 1453-4 | Robert Sturmy | Wm. Howell; Thos. Kempson, Nich. Long |

| | MAYORS. | SHERIFFS AND BAILIFFS. |
|---|---|---|
| 1454-5 | Richard Hatter | Philip Mede; John Cogan, Wm. Hotton |
| 1455-6 | John Shipwarde | Thos. Rogers; John Bagod, Rob. Bolton |

Two deeds (D.) dated August, 1456, the only deeds of the year, give Richard Tucker as mayor.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1456-7 | William Canynges | Wm. Dam; John Jay, Hen. Chestre |
| 1457-8 | William Codre | John Wykam; John George, Robt. Bulle |

Six deeds (3 Br., Th., and 2 M.) and the R.B. give Robert Bole and John Clerke, bailiffs. Two only (Th.) call the latter "George." Several chroniclers state that the former died in office, but disagree as to the name of his successor. (*See* 1465-6.)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1458-9 | Philip Mede | John Bagod; John Haukes, John Jay |

Jay was the son of the bailiff of 1456-7.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1459-60 | Thomas Rogers | Robt. Jakys; John Gaywodde, John Seynte |
| 1460-1 | William Canynges | Thos. Kempson; Wm. Wodynton, Lewis Mors |

The name of the second bailiff was Morris.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1461-2 | Philip Mede | Wm. Spencer; Robt. Strange, Hen. Balle |
| 1462-3 | John Wykam | Ric. Alberton; John Forster, Geof. Greffith |
| 1463-4 | John Shipwarde | John Hawkys; Wm. Birde, Wal. Coston |
| 1464-5 | William Cordir | John Cogan; Wm. Rokyo, John Eyton |
| 1465-6 | William Spencer | John George; John Shipward, jun., Edm. Westcotte |

The sheriff is again called Clerke in R.B. and deeds. He must have been known by two names.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1466-7 | William Canynges | John Gaywodde; Thos. Rowley, Wal. Grymstede |
| 1467-8 | Robert Jakys | John Hooper; John Shrevyn, Wm. Wykam |
| 1468-9 | Philip Mede | Robt. Strange; John Godard, John Naneston |
| 1469-70 | John Shipwarde | Wm. Birde; Hen. Vaghan, John Powke |
| 1470-1 | Thomas Kempson | Hen. Chestre; John Stephins, Wm. Toket |

Chester died during his shrievalty, and was succeeded by John Shipward, jun. (R. and R.B.).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1471-2 | John Haukes | Wm. Wodington; John Penke, John Estirfuelde |

| | MAYORS. | SHERIFFS AND BAILIFFS. |
|---|---|---|
| 1472-3 | John Cogan | John Jaye; John Gregory, John Gurney |

Gregory died in office, and was succeeded by John Alberton (chronicles).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1473-4 | William Spencer | Edm. Westcotte; John Swayne, Thos. Flexall |
| 1474-5 | Robert Strange | John Forster; Thos. Hexton, Wm Rowley |
| 1475-6 | William Birdes | Thos. Rowley; Rob. Shermon, John Snygge |
| 1476-7 | John Bagod | Wm. Wykam; John Chestre, Phil. Capull |
| 1477-8 | John Shipwarde | Hen. Vaghan; John Batkok, Clem. Wilshire |
| 1478-9 | William Spencer | John Skryven; John Druez Rich. Bonde |
| 1479-80 | Edmund Westcotte | John Powke; John Greffith, John Woswell |
| 1480-1 | William Wodington | Wm. Toket; Rob. Bunnock, John Houndesley |
| 1481-2 | John Forster | John Pynke; John Langforde, Wm. Regent |
| 1482-3 | Robert Strange | John Estirfielde; Thos. Spicer, Hen. Dale |
| 1483-4 | Henry Vaghn | John Stephens; John Vaghn, Wm. Gauncell |
| 1484-5 | William Wickeham | John Swayne; John Hemmyng, Wm. Spycer |
| 1485-6 | Edmund Wescote | Rich. Sherman; Philip Ryngston, Hugh Jonys |

Westcote died on October 11th. Swayne, still acting as sheriff, convened the Council on the 15th, when Henry Vaughan was elected (R.B.). It is strange that the R.B., for which Ricart was then responsible, contains another entry stating that Vaughan was elected by "Wm. Wykeham, Mayor, John Snigg, Sheriff," and the Council! Wykeham and Snigg, as Ricart himself records, were not elected until a twelvemonth later.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1486-7 | William Wykhm | John Snyg; John Jay, Thos. ap Howell |
| 1487-8 | John Esterfeld | John Chester; Nich. Brown, John Walsshe |
| 1488-9 | John Penke | Clem. Wilteshire; John Howell, John Hurler |
| 1489-90 | Robert Strange | Thos. Spycer; John Taillor, Rob. Fortey |
| 1490-1 | John Stephens | Wm. Regent; Geo. Monoux, Ric. Vaghn |

| | MAYORS. | SHERIFFS AND BAILIFFS. |
|---|---|---|
| 1491-2 | William Toket | Hen. Dale; John Fuyster, David Cogan |
| 1492-3 | Clement Wilteshire | John Drewes; John Popley, Rog. Dawes |

The mayor died on St. John's Day (December 27th), and the Kalendar notes that John Hawkes was elected in his room.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1493-4 | Henry Vaghn | Phil. Ryngston; John Keynes, Phil. Grene |
| 1494-5 | John Esterfeld | Mat. Jubbes; Wm. Estby, John Rowlond |
| 1495-6 | William Regent | Nich. Brown; David Leyson, John Johnes |

R. and several calendars call the second bailiff Morgan.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1496-7 | John Drewis | Hugh Johnes; Thos. Vaghn, John Elyot |
| 1497-8 | Henry Dale | Rich. Vaghn; Wm. Lane, John Spencer |
| 1498-9 | Philip Ryngstone | John Jay; John Vaghn, Thos. Wescote |

In an F. deed the sheriff is named "John J."

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1499—1500 | Nich. Brown | Philip Grene; Rich. Hoby, Wal. Rice |

By the charter of Henry the Seventh, granted in December, 1499, by which the Corporation was converted into a self-elected oligarchy, it was directed that two bailiffs were to be elected annually, and that those officers should thenceforth perform the duties of the sheriff. Ricart consequently heads the roll of minor officials with the words "Sheriffs and Bailiffs." As a matter of fact, however, the title of bailiffs was entirely dropped two or three years afterwards, and the officials were always afterwards styled sheriffs.

| | MAYORS. | SHERIFFS. |
|---|---|---|
| 1500-1 | Richard Vaghn | Hugh Elyot, John Baten |
| 1501-2 | George Monoux | Thomas Snyg, Thomas Pernaunt |
| 1502-3 | Hugh Johnes | John Colas, John Caple |
| 1503-4 | Henry Dale | Richard Americk, Wil. Codford |

Some chroniclers note that Merrick or Americk died, and was succeeded by Robert Thorne.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1504-5 | David Philips *alias* Cogan | William Jeffreys, Thomas Penson |
| 1505-6 | Robert Dawes | Thomas Elyot, John Harrys |

Some annalists assert that Elyot died. His successor according to most of them was Thomas Snygge, but one gives Thomas Smith.

| | MAYORS. | SHERIFFS. |
|---|---|---|
| 1506-7 | Philip Ryngston | William Edwardes, John Welles |

The chroniclers state that the mayor died, and was succeeded by Richard Vaughan.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1507-8 | John Vaghn | John Edwardes, Simon Gervys |
| 1508-9 | Richard Hoby | John Mathewe, William Nele |
| 1509-10 | John Cabull | John Williams, John Wilkyns |
| 1510-1 | John Popley | Richard ap Rys, Robert Hutton |
| 1511-2 | John Rowland | John Hutton, Humfrey Browne |
| 1512-3 | John Ellyott | Thomas Dale, Thomas Broke |
| 1513-4 | William Bedford | John Shypman, William Wosley |
| 1514-5 | Robert Thorne | John Ware, Richard Tonell |
| 1515-6 | Roger Dawes | Richard Abyngdon, Wm. Vaughan |
| 1516-7 | John Vaughan | Thomas Pacy, Edward Payn |
| 1517-8 | Richard Hoby | John Drewes, John Repe |

The annalists state that the mayor died on March 25th, 1518, and that John Jay served for the rest of the year.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1518-9 | John Edwardes | John Hall, William Dale |
| 1519-20 | John Willyams | Clement Bays, Robert Sulbrige |
| 1520-1 | Roger Dawes | William Shypman, Rob. Aventry |
| 1521-2 | John Shipman | Robert Ellyott, Roger Coke |
| 1522-3 | William Wosley | Gilbert Cogan, William Chester |

Several chroniclers state that John Rowland was elected mayor, but died shortly afterwards, when Wolesey or Woolsey was elected in his room.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1523-4 | John Wilkyns | Robert Chapman, John Davys |
| 1524-5 | John Hutton | Thomas Jeoffreys, John Spryng |
| 1525-6 | Richard Abyngdon | Henry Whyte, John Gervays |
| 1526-7 | Thomas Broke | David Laurence, George Baderam |
| 1527-8 | John Ware | Thomas Nasshe, David Hutton |
| 1528-9 | Richard Tonell | Nicholas Thorn, John Thorn |
| 1529-30 | John Shipman | William Skelke, Thomas Silke |
| 1530-1 | Thomas White | George Hall, William Freeman |

Freeman died on October 16th, and Robert Adams was elected sheriff October 17th.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1531-2 | Thomas Pacy | William Cary, John Mauncell |
| 1532-3 | Clement Bays | John Smyth, William Pyke |
| 1533-4 | William Shipman | William ap Howell, Anthony Payn |
| 1534-5 | Roger Coke | John Braneton, Nicholas Wudhouse |
| 1535-6 | John Hutton | Thomas Hart, John Northale |

| | MAYORS. | SHERIFFS. |
|---|---|---|
| 1536-7 | Richard Abyngdon | Richard Payn, Thomas More |
| 1537-8 | William Chester | Thomas Wynnesmore, Rowland Cowper |
| 1538 9 | Thomas Jeffreys | William Jay, David Harris |
| 1539-40 | John Spryng | William Rowley, William Yong |
| 1540-1 | Robert Ellyott | William Spratt, Richard Mors |
| 1541-2 | Roger Coke | Richard Watley, Robert Sexcy |
| 1542-3 | Henry Whyte | William Ballarde, William Pepwall |

The mayor died "14 days before Michaelmas"—the day on which the civic officers were elected—"and John Reep was chosen in his room." Reep is spelt Roppe in R.B., and Keep in some chronicles.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1543-4 | Thomas Pacy | Francis Codryngton, Thos. Launsdon |
| 1544-5 | Nicholas Thorne | John Gurney, Roger Jones |
| 1545-6 | Robert Adams | William Carr, Richard Davys |
| 1546-7 | William Carye | John Wells, Thomas Joachym |
| 1547-8 | John Smythe | Thomas Harris, William Tyndall |
| 1548-9 | William Pykes | John Mathewes, Edward Tynte |
| 1549-50 | William Jay | Edward Prynne, John Stones |
| 1550-1 | David Harries | Roger Mylwarde, Thomas Shewarde |
| 1551-2 | Roger Cooke | William Jones, Nicholas Williams |
| 1552-3 | William Chester | Thomas Tyson, Anthony Standbank |
| 1553-4 | John Northall | John Pekes, sen., John Pekes, jun. |
| 1554-5 | John Smythe | Giles Whyte, John Cutte |

Barrett, and a calendar seen by Mr. Seyer, state that Smyth died in office, and that John Northall supplied the vacancy.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1555-6 | William Younge | Thomas Shipman, John Griffithe |
| 1556-7 | Robert Saxcy | George Snygge, William Butler |
| 1557-8 | William Pepwall | Arthur Rycarte, William Tucker |
| 1558-9 | Robert Adams | John Browne, John Prewett |
| 1559-60 | Roger Jones | Thomas Chester, Thomas Kelke |
| 1560-1 | William Carr | Michael Sowdeley, George Higgyns |
| 1561-2 | John Pykes | John Wade, Thomas Colston |
| 1562-3 | John Slones | John Roberts, William Belcher |
| 1563-4 | Nicholas Williams | Thomas Yonge, Richard Davys |
| 1564-5 | Anthony Stanbank | Edmund Jones, Thomas Slocumbe |
| 1565-6 | John Northall | William Young, John Jones |
| 1566-7 | John Cutt | Philip Langley, Thomas Aldworth |
| 1567-8 | William Pepwall | Dominick Chester, Walter Pykes |
| 1568-9 | John Stone | Robert Smyth, Thomas Kyrkeland |

Smyth died, and was succeeded by Richard Cheyne or Cheyle, jun., who also died, and Richard Youge supplied his place. Cheyle's executors paid £40 in 1570 "for the office of the sheriffship."

| | Mayors | Sheriffs |
|---|---|---|
| 1560-1 | Thomas Chester | Thomas Rowland, Richard Cole |
| 1561-2 | William Tucker | William Hicks, John Barnes |
| 1562-3 | John Shee | Thomas Wyott, Randall Howell |
| 1563-4 | John Browne | William Collins, Robert Ridding[illegible] |
| 1564-5 | Thomas Nelle | Edward Fisher, William Smith |
| 1565-6 | George Snygge | William Salkeme, Robert Hilton |
| 1566-7 | John Prowse | Michael Pigwell, Nicholas Wise |
| 1567-8 | John Wyle | John Lake, Richard Aubrey |
| 1568-9 | Thomas Cornish | William Hughes, Walter Southcote |
| 1569-70 | John Travers | William Prowse, Ralph Dole |
| 1570-71 | Thomas Youge | George Gadeame, Francis Knight |
| 1571-2 | Thomas Shoomake | William Parley, William Nele |
| 1572-3 | Philip Langley | Bartholomew Cosse, Humfry Ashore |
| 1573-4 | Thomas Ailworth | John Wyllis, Thomas Pollington |
| 1574-5 | Walter Pyke | William Elliot, Walter Evans |
| 1575-6 | Thomas Rowlands | Richard Nelle, Rise Jones |
| 1576-7 | Richard Cole | Henry Langdon, John Horne |
| 1577-8 | William Hicken | John Hopkyns, Edward Lange |
| 1578-9 | John Barnes | William Vosper, Ralph Horne |
| 1579-80 | Robert Hawkins | Nicholas Hobbes, John Glover |
| 1580-1 | William Elliot | John Williams, Christopher Mallpas |
| 1581-2 | William Hughyns | George Somes, Hugh Corbet |
| 1582-3 | Walter Stanlake | Thomas Lewes, Walter Williams |
| 1583-4 | Thomas Ailworth | Richard Mayne, John Clowge |
| 1584-5 | Michael Pigwell | John Barker, Richard Smyth |
| 1585-6 | Francis Knyght | Matthew Hawkins, Thomas Tucker |
| 1586-7 | William Parley | Richard Rogers, John Rye |
| 1587-8 | William Yate | John Bourton, Robert Ailworth |
| 1588-9 | John Wilton | John Fylwhille, Richard Cheyne |
| 1589-90 | William Ellys | William Carye, Abel Ratcliff |
| 1590—1600 | John Howe | William Colston, John Harmonde |

The Common Council minutes give the mayor's name as Harte. He died in May, 1601, when Richard (or Ryse) Jones was elected for the remainder of the year.

# BRISTOL ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES FOR 1902. III.

By JOHN E. PRITCHARD, F.S.A.,
*Honorary Secretary for Bristol.*

> "It will perhaps be thought by some that I have recorded . . . the finds that have been made with unnecessary fulness, and I am aware that I have done it in greater detail than has been customary; but my experience as an excavator has led me to think that investigations are not generally sufficiently searching, and that much valuable evidence is lost by omitting to record them carefully. . . . Every detail should, therefore, be recorded in the manner most conducive to facility of reference."—PITT RIVERS.

To record in systematic manner year by year the archæological and historic finds of the district is essentially the duty of every "local secretary" connected with the Society. But as no other member appears to have responded to the recent suggestion of our hon. editor,[1] I should like, in contributing my notes for 1902, to remind members generally of the great value which accrues to antiquarian study if this is done upon a scientific basis, and would *urge* all who are interested in the work of the Society to report regularly to the *local secretary* for the district any finds that come to their knowledge, so that descriptive accounts may regularly appear in the *Transactions*. Judging from the numerous recorded excavations and finds of recent years, if such had been done at earlier stages in our history, we should now have a wealth of matter pertaining to the pre-historic periods in this district of the utmost value.

Bristol and the neighbourhood is unquestionably still full of "historic" traces yet uninvestigated, and who shall refuse

[1] *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xxii., pp. 290, 291.

*Face page 139.*

## Plate I.

PRE-HISTORIC IRON-AGE OBJECTS FOUND IN BRISTOL, 1902.

to believe of "pre-historic" also; for was not unexpected light shed upon the *Iron-age period* during the course of the important Pithay excavations in 1900,[1] and what more interesting revelation than that picture of "early man" occupying fortified oppida upon the peninsula whereon the Norman town was afterwards built?

Ardent antiquaries naturally specialise; but apart from definite study members engaged in the every-day business of life could often spare time for enquiry into matters of historic changes in their own district, or for the arrest of specimens in case of unexpected discovery, which should be systematically and permanently recorded.

### PITHAY EXCAVATIONS.[2]

The work of excavating at the Pithay—that is to say, upon the ground lying between the historic slope leading from Wine Street to St. John's slope—was carried on from the commencement of the year until April, and this magnificent site is now almost entirely cleared for the completion of the great pile of manufacturing premises now in course of erection by Messrs. J. S. Fry and Sons.

There is only one small patch left to dig out, and this work may be delayed for some time. Many finds have already been recorded from this site just outside the old city wall, and it is hoped that other objects of equal interest may still turn up before the spade of the excavator leaves this spot so fascinating to the local antiquary.

Here in January last, at a depth of 18 feet below the surface of the bank, 10 feet from outside the old town wall, and 35 feet from the Pithay slope, a very fine *antler* of the *roe deer* (Plate I., Fig. 6) was found in the red marl deposit. With regard to this mammal, Lydekker says that "the roe, although totally unknown in Ireland, was formally

[1] See *Transactions*, vol. xxiii., p. 270. Seyer (Rev. Samuel, M.A.) *Memoirs of Bristol*, vol. i., p. 266.

[2] See *Transactions*, vol. xxiii., pp. 263, 269; vol. xxiv., p. 274. *Proc. Clifton Antiq. Club*, vol. iv., p. 51.

distributed over the remainder of the British Islands, is attested by the occurrence of its remains in the Norfolk forest bed, the brick-earths of the Thames valley, the fens of Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire, and also in a number of English caverns."[1]

As it is the first trace of this deer that has come under my own observation in city diggings, and it is apparently of rare if not unique occurrence, it may be interesting to record the find. A broken antler of the red deer (*Cervus elaphus*), with a portion of the skull attached, was found close by.

But of considerably greater importance was the discovery in the month of April, at a spot lower down the bank, in the blue alluvial deposit, at a depth of 24 feet and some 60 feet from the Pithay slope, of a small *deer's tine* (Plate I., Fig. 5) with marks of fine sawing. It is similar in character to the objects of undoubted pre-historic "Iron Age" found in 1900[2] on the other side of the slope or pathway previously referred to, about 100 feet distant.

There are, however, still further proofs of early occupation, for during city drainage operations on the summit of Castle Mill Street, in St. Peter's parish, a portion of a pierced antler of the red deer was found, together with charred animal remains. And elsewhere, on the sloping bank of the Froom, from deep excavations, the following additional most interesting traces of the

PRE-HISTORIC IRON AGE

have been discovered during the year—

(*a*) A remarkably good specimen of a pointed and polished bone needle,[3] 7¼ inches long. (Plate I., Fig. 1.)

(*b*) A portion of a fine bone needle. (Plate I., Fig. 2.)

(*c*) A bone borer, point broken. (Plate I., Fig. 3.)

(*d*) A portion of a red deer's antler, showing undoubted signs of sawing.[3] (Plate I., Fig. 4.)

[1] Lydekker (Richard, B.A., F.R.S.), *British Mammalia*, London, 1896, p. 250.

[2] See *Transactions*, vol. xxiii., p. 270.

[3] See also *Transactions*, vol. xxiii., p. 270.

*Face page 141.*

## Plate II.

SPINDLE WHORLS AND HONES FOUND IN BRISTOL, 1902.

(*e*) A stone spindle whorl.[1] (Plate II., Fig. 1.)

(*f*) Three pottery spindle whorls.[1] (Plate II., Figs. 2, 3, 4.) These four whorls (*e* and *f*) are the only specimens yet recovered from excavations in Bristol.

(*g*) A small schist hone,[2] with hole drilled at end for suspension. Much worn. (Plate II., Fig. 5.)

(*h*) The lower portion of a hone, showing much wear, and having a groove down the centre from the application of an iron tool. (Plate II., Fig. 6.)

Though considerable building operations have been carried on during 1902, apart from those referred to, within the old city area, no finds of any importance have resulted, for no great depths have been investigated for foundations.

The following discoveries of a miscellaneous character will doubtless be of some interest to members:—

During somewhat deep and heavy digging in the alluvial deposit at the Broad Quay, on the land adjoining Aldersky Lane, it was rumoured at the end of October that the workmen had cut through an ancient boat. One instantly associated early man of the Pithay[3] site and the Glastonbury[4] village: one pictured the shapely galley of the Romans, and remembered the traces reported to have been found at Sea Mills[5] a century since; and again at Weston-super-Mare[6] in more recent times. Unfortunately the recollection of the commercial enterprise of the seventeenth-century alderman[7] quickly dispelled every hope, and careful enquiry proved this to be the case. The find was probably the remains of a small vessel which had been sunk in Aldworth's Dock! There were some relics, however, from this corner site adjoining the thoroughfare commonly known as Thunderbolt[8] Street; a number of *iron shot*, doubtless relics of the

[1] Evans (Sir John, F.R.S., &c.), *Ancient Stone Implements*, 1872, p. 390-2.

[2] See *Transactions*, vol. xxiii., p. 270.

[3] See *Transactions*, vol. xxiii., p. 270. [4] *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xl., pt. ii.

[5] Manby (G. W.), *Fugitive Sketches*, Clifton, 1802, pp. 18–20; *Proc. Clifton Antiq. Club*, vol. i., pp. 60, 61.

[6] See Mr. Poole's Notes in the Weston-super-Mare Museum.

[7] *Aldworth's Dock*. See Latimer's *Annals of Bristol in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 88, and *Proc. Clifton Antiq. Club*, vol. v., p. 129.

[8] The occasion of this name is not known.

seventeenth-century sieges: one 7 ins. diam., four 4 ins. diam. In Telephone Avenue, Baldwin Street, also, on the site of the new offices of the Bristol Water Works, more *iron shot* was found in August: one $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. diam., one 4 ins. diam., six $3\frac{1}{4}$ ins. diam., two 3 ins. diam. These came from a depth of twelve feet below the road level, and unquestionably belonged to the period of the memorable sieges.[1]

Of much more interest is a good specimen of *stone shot*, roughly rounded and measuring $4\frac{1}{4}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, which was dug out in Wellington Street, Pithay, on the 4th day of April, at a depth of 15 feet below street level.[2]

These stone shot are now exceedingly rare, and seldom found anywhere. I remember two being discovered at the bottom of St. Michael's Hill about twelve years ago.

A correspondent in *Notes and Queries*[3] says: "Large quantities were made from the Maidstone Quarries at a very early date, as the stone found there was very hard. In the year 1418 seven thousand of different sizes were ordered by the Crown from these quarries."

There are very few references to stone shot, so it may be interesting to note that in 1377, 1st of Richard II., the Government ordered "Thomas Norbury to provide from Thomas Restwold, of London, two great and two less engines called cannons, 600 *stone shot* for the same, and saltpetre, charcoal and other ammunition for stores, to be sent to the castle of Bristol."

In February, during city drainage operations in Narrow Wine Street, near the "Cat and Wheel," some foundations of the ancient town wall, nearly 15 feet in thickness, were cut into, when a small English *stoneware jug*,[4] 8 inches in height, doubtless of Fulham pottery, late sixteenth century, was discovered close by; and about that time,

[1] Both these finds of iron shot have been given to the Bristol Museum.

[2] This specimen of stone shot has been given to the Bristol Museum.

[3] Fourth Series, vol. iii., p. 227.

[4] Now in Mr. Fuller Eberle's collection.

whilst excavating for the same work, at the top of Castle Mill Street[1] a small *copper oval medallion*[2] of Charles II. was turned out, though damaged by a blow from a pick. It was probably the lid of a box, and of contemporary workmanship.

The excavations for the new offices of the Sun Insurance Company at the bottom corner of Clare Street, though carried to a considerable depth, have yielded few objects beyond some fragments of mediæval pottery; and from the site of the additional Magistrates' Court in Bridewell Street nothing worthy of note has been found.

For the site of the new central Library the "old Deanery," adjoining St. Augustine's gateway, was purchased by the Libraries' Committee, and the demolition of that ancient building was commenced in July. Apart from the curious black and white mural drawings—originally discovered by Dean Lamb, and afterwards described by Mr. George Pryce, F.S.A., in his *History of Bristol*[3]—which have been preserved and removed to the Cathedral Library, very few relics have been secured. A well-moulded head of a window, or of an opening, bearing the initials "I. N." —evidently intended for John Newland, 1481–1515—was, however, fortunately rescued by the sub-sacrist, as well as a few fragments of mediæval tiles.

Notwithstanding the Dean and Chapter claimed, I understand, "by agreement," all objects of antiquity found upon the site during the process of the demolition, many interesting items found their way into other hands through apathy on the part of those concerned; whereas everything discovered might have been obtained if ordinary care had been exercised and reasonable remuneration paid to the finders, as is now customary under similar circumstances.

The London County Council offers a reward to the

[1] Formerly known as Newgate Hill. See the gateway shown in Millerd's large plan of the city, 1673.

[2] This has been given to the Bristol Museum.

[3] Published in 1861, pp. 49, 50. Compare *Bristol, Past and Present*, vol. iii., p. 239.

workman who hands over to the foreman or clerk of the works any find, provided it be "of geological or archæological value," but a similar precaution has not yet been fully taken by important bodies in our historic city.

At Caerwent, Silchester, and other places all finds are handed over to the excavator in charge. After careful examination of the objects found, a reasonable value is fixed and the finder is rewarded for the discovery.

Through the collapse of portions of the roofs which covered the various properties between St. Augustine's Bank and Host Street, the frontage being known as Barton's Carriage Factory, the demolition of the old buildings had to be somewhat hurriedly carried out during the year. The houses were considerably inter-built; some probably dated from the middle of the seventeenth century, and others as late as the early part of the nineteenth century.

The remnant of a good seventeenth-century ceiling was photographed before being pulled down; and a fireplace, bearing the date 1640, slightly damaged, has been saved by the owner,[1] as well as two unusually fine carved-oak mask-head cantalivers which had for two and a half centuries supported the overhanging rooms of a house in Host[2] Street, at the rear.

## COINS AND TOKENS.

Unfortunately very few coins were found during the year, and only a solitary regal piece calls for special mention. This is a *silver penny of Edward I.*, in fine condition, found on October 10th in Cotham Road, close by Fry's tower, during excavations for a new water main. On the obverse is a full-face bust of the King, with the inscription: EDW. R. ANGL. DNS. HYB.; and on the reverse the legend: VILLA BRISTOLLIE.[3] Though not a very rare piece, the find is most

[1] Now in Mr. Fuller Eberle's possession.

[2] In Millerd's Plan, 1673, it is named "Horse" Street, and up to 1815, when it is so marked on Mathew's Plan; but in the Rev. John Evans's New Plan of 1822 the name is changed to Host Street.

[3] See Grueber (H. A., F.S.A.), *Handbook of Coins of Great Britain*, 1899, Plate VIII., Fig. 243.

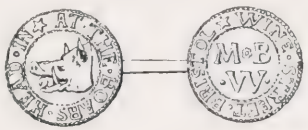
interesting, as specimens of the coinage of the early English kings—especially that minted in our city—seldom turn up in this manner. The mint in the thirteenth century was stationed at the Castle, where this penny was undoubtedly struck.

Two sixteenth-century *square farthings of Bristol*[1] came from the rubbish-pits in the Pithay, but both were in a bad state of preservation.

Amongst the *traders' tokens*, however, one seventeenth-century piece of Bristol requires particular mention. It has never been recorded, and is undoubtedly unique. The description is as follows:—

*Obv.* AT · THE · BOARS · HEAD · IN = a Boar's Head.
*Rev.* WINE · STREET · BRISTOL = M. B. W.

This "Boar's Head" was not necessarily the name of a tavern, and it is not singular, therefore, that no house of that name can just now be traced, for it is well known that at that period many of the shop-keepers carried on their business under a "sign."



The COMPLETE LIST OF SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY TRADERS' TOKENS OF BRISTOL now comprises the following:—[2]

IOHN · BRADWAY
WILLIAM · COOKE
IOHN · IENKINS
THOMAS · RICRAFT
M. B. W. (The Boar's Head).

It is most probable that others were struck, as Bristol was a very prosperous trading city in the days of the Commonwealth, and the issuing of these tokens was apparently almost a necessity, besides being very profitable.

The above specimen came from the "harbour dredgings," from whence many specimens have been discovered. Also,

[1] See *Num. Chron.*, 3rd Series, vol. xix., Plate 17, fig. 2.

[2] *Num. Chron.*, 3rd Series, vol. xix., Plate 17; 4th Series, vol. ii., p. 385

from the same source, a circular Bristol farthing, without date (*c.* 1651), the contemporary "cast" variety,[1] which is very rare.

A Bath farthing, 1659.

Other seventeenth-century *tokens* and objects found within the limits of the city are as follows:—

*Obv.* IOHN · RICHARDSON = His halfpenny.
*Rev.* OVLD · SWINFORD · 1669 = The Arms of Worcester.

*Obv.* GEORGE · IEFFRIES = The Grocers' Arms.
*Rev.* OF · CHELMSFORD · 1656 = G. M. I. ($_{G.}{}^{I}{}_{M.}$)

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A large-size farthing, of uncertain issue:

*Obv.* THE · FARTHING · OF · A · MERCHANT = Arms of the Staple Merchants.
*Rev.* OF · THE · STAPLE · OF · ENGLAND = A Fleece.

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Numerous fragments of MEDIÆVAL POTTERY, including a specimen of fourteenth-century dark green glaze, with a curious ring handle, and of fifteenth century light green glaze, with mask-head ornamentation.

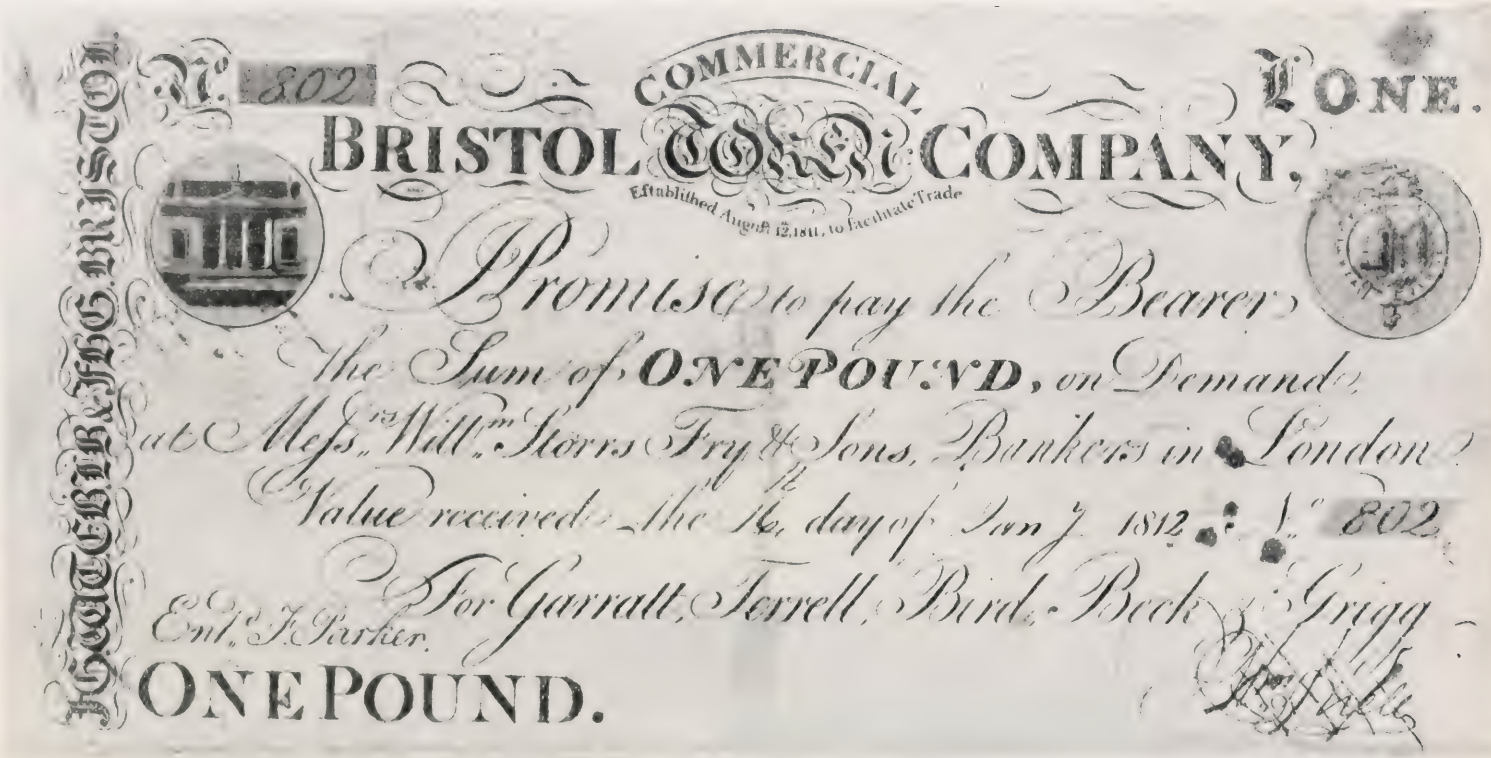
A brass GAITER SPUR[2] *circa* seventeenth century. A BRASS NEEDLE, probably same period. A copper lustre SALT CELLAR, eighteenth century. (Pithay.)

From a seventeenth-century rubbish pit on the river bank, just without the old city wall, an unusually interesting specimen of a THREE-PRONG BRASS FORK (*see illustration*) was discovered early in the year.

This rare specimen, which measures $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, has a flat split-ended handle, with very low clefts, and all the edges are slightly bevelled. I reported my find to Mr. Wilfrid Cripps, C.B., F.S.A., the celebrated authority on "Old English Plate," who agreed in placing the date any time during the last quarter of the seventeenth century, probably about 1680.

[1] *Num. Chron.*, 3rd Series, vol. xix., Plate 17, No. 5.

[2] For other spurs found in Bristol, see *Transactions*, xxiv., p. 279.


No. 802
COMMERCIAL
BRISTOL Bank COMPANY.
Established August 12, 1811, to facilitate Trade
ONE.
Promise to pay the Bearer
the Sum of ONE POUND, on Demand
at Messrs. Wm. Storrs Fry & Sons, Bankers in London
Value received the 16 day of Jany 1812 £ No. 802
For Garratt, Terrell, Bird, Beck & Grigg
Entd. J. Parker.
ONE POUND.
NOTE BRISTOL

Both Mr. Trapnell, of Clifton, and Mr. Drane, of Cardiff, possess a similar fork in silver, but these collectors are inclined to place the date *temp.* Charles I.

Mr. Cripps says that "until the commencement of the seventeenth century one or two forks are all that would be found, even in large houses, for the service of the table, but at this time the fashion of using them at meals in the modern way was imported from Italy, and, as we may gather from Ben Jonson and other writers, was fairly established by about 1620. Large silver forks and spoons such as those now called tablespoons and forks, were first used in France about 1640, and then soon became common."[1]

These are two items of

LOCAL HISTORY

worthy of special record.

Just recently, through the decease of a member of the Terrell family, several of whose members have been connected with the commerce of this city for over a century, the following bank-note and mace have been brought to light.

BRISTOL BANK-NOTE.

To collectors of silver tokens—now being sought after with great zest—it may not be uninteresting to record the existence of a *bank-note* (Plate III.)[2] circulated in Bristol in 1812, which is intimately connected with the issue of two of the local pieces.

Owing to the scarcity of silver coinage in the years 1811 and 1812 various merchants and shopkeepers, in the city of Bristol, associated themselves together and struck the well-known shilling and sixpenny silver tokens,[3] bearing the

[1] "College and Corporation Plate" (*S. K. Handbook*), 1881, p. 87.

[2] Cave (C. H.), *History of Banking in Bristol*, 1899, page 197: this is a similar note, but it has no reference to a token company nor payment in London. It is now in the collection of Mr. Bowles, of Clifton.

[3] See Boyne's *Silver Tokens*, London, 1866, Nos. 34 and 36.

inscription: — Payable | by Messrs. | Fras. Garratt, | Wm. Terrell | Edwd. Bird | Lant. Beck and | Frans. H. | Grigg. | To facilitate Trade. Issued in Bristol, Augt. 12, 1811.

It will be at once realised that this note was issued by the same merchants of Bristol who were responsible for the tokens, and the words printed thereon indicate the fact—not otherwise mentioned in local directories of the period—that the partners aforesaid had formed themselves into a "token company."

No similar bank-note has as yet been illustrated, and the existence of such does not appear to have been known to collectors.

It is an interesting specimen, duly issued, numbered, and bearing the signature of William Terrell, whose descendants have possessd the note ever since. At the top left-hand corner is a small view of the Commercial Rooms, a building only opened the previous year (1811); and at the top on the right are the arms of the city, similar to that on the tokens. Of the several firms named, the only business still carried on is that of the Terrells. But the note is of still further interest, as it was made payable at the bank of Willm Storrs Fry and Sons, of 4 St. Mildred's Court, London.

Willm Storrs Fry (1736—1808), the founder of this bank, was the younger brother of Joseph Fry (1728—1787), who was the first member of this family to settle in Bristol, and commenced the manufacture of chocolate.

At the date the note was issued the bank was carried on by the sons of Willm Storrs Fry, one of whom, Joseph Fry, married Elizabeth Gurney, afterwards well known as Elizabeth Fry the philanthropist.

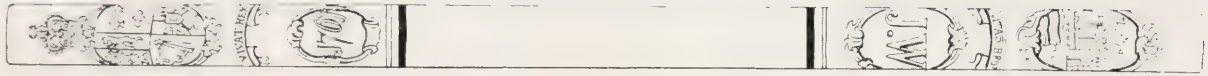
### CITY MACE, 1761.

This interesting object, which is in excellent condition, is made of wood; it measures rather over 37 inches long, and is just under 2 inches in diameter.

At one end are the initials J. W. beneath the arms of Bristol, and at the other the date 1761 below the royal arms; these embellishments are painted in gold upon a light blue

PLATE IV.

SCALE $\frac{1}{6}$

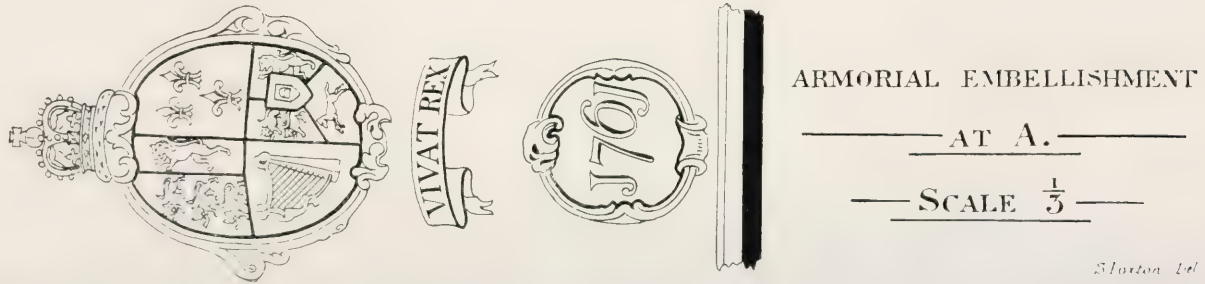



A B

ARMORIAL EMBELLISHMENT

AT B.

SCALE $\frac{1}{3}$




ARMORIAL EMBELLISHMENT

AT A.

SCALE $\frac{1}{3}$

Shorton Del

background in compartments, the central division between the bands being a bright red.[1]

After a careful inspection of the names of city officials in the year 1761, it is hardly open to doubt that the initials were those of John Wraxall, city sword-bearer, 1750 to 1768. But why a sword-bearer should require a mace is a difficult question to solve nearly a century and a half after the event; though careful enquiries and minute search have been made as to the necessity of the time, no satisfactory explanation can yet be offered. Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, M.A., the greatest authority on civic insignia,[2] to whom I wrote fully upon the subject, kindly replied as follows:—

"I do not remember any such staff elsewhere. The sword-bearer certainly did *not* have a mace bearer of his own, but he might have been the bearer of this particular staff on particular occasions."

And Mr. G. E. Weare, who has carefully studied the origin and use of maces for many years past, said in answer to my enquiries: "It appears to me that you have made a very good guess as to the identity of J. W., who might have had the mace prepared for himself in connection with the coronation procession in 1761.

Of course, it is a little puzzling to know to what use a sword-bearer could have put such a mace. Might not a mace-bearer have gone in front of him in the procession? It seems hardly probable—although of course it is possible—that the sword would have been dispensed with on the occasion referred to."

This relic of Georgian times has fortunately been acquired for the city collection.

My thanks are again due to Mr. Claude B. Fry for his kindness in connection with the great Pithay excavations, and also to Mr. William Moline for the two excellent negatives of the pre-historic objects from which those illustrations have been prepared.

[1] I am indebted to the chairman and committee of the Bristol Museum for the loan of this block.

[2] "The Insignia and Plate of the Corporation of the City and County of Bristol," *Trans.*, vol. xv., pp. 195–208.

# THE STAINED GLASS ART OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

By St. CLAIR BADDELEY.

I VENTURE to preface my remarks on the fourteenth century and its glass by lamenting the exceedingly uneven and unfair distribution of our information regarding fourteenth-century things and people. It is true we have the names of the successive abbots of Tewkesbury; we know particulars about most of the members of the De Clare and Le Despenser families, and some others whose monuments and mortal remains lie in the solemn twilight of this beautiful choir. We are told that Abbot Gerald did this and Prior Henry de Banbury built that; but we are not vouchsafed one word as to the name or personality of the architect who designed this vault, or the painter-glazier who, with all his skill, fashioned these glorious windows, in which we witness so truly grandiose an expression of man's delight in beauty, and which have, I think, afforded us all so interesting a gaze into the life of the mighty past. We are not told, except by the work itself, how this artist carefully developed a clear, intelligible scheme for the entire choir, windows, clerestory, as well as east window, in accordance with the desires of his patron, the reigning Le Despenser, or the abbot, or of both; not observe (as we moderns do), patch by patch, one not related to the other, but in one sensible general plan, which with its system of subjects, sacred and secular, could be distributed in an artistic proportion of colour in due and proper harmony with its architectural accessories. A mere yellow, dusty little scrap of fourteenth-century parchment,

had it survived, might have told us in which of these old streets he may have had kiln, furnace, and casting-tables, and how much he was paid for the work, what directions were given him for representing these different Earls of Gloucester, and also what other individuals he may have presented in other windows of this abbey, now long since vanished. For look, in that far-back fourteenth century, with its papal schisms, murdered kings, its Black Death, and wars with France, men knew how to solve the problems of art with what we should consider very imperfect apparatus, in a manner which still defies us in the twentieth century with all our scientific analyses and appliances. In fact, the only blots (glaring ones, I may call them) upon these windows are the well-meant interpolations made by an enthusiastic London glazier at his own cost, effected in 1829.

Let us think for one moment of the differences of their respective advantages, and then contrast in our minds the difference in the results of their labours. This Mr. Collins, of the Strand, came armed like a giant with the experience of the centuries—at least in improved chemistry with refined oxides, and (as he doubtless believed) finer glass. Further, he had the diamond to cut up his sheets with, instead of having to score them out with a hot iron, and then break and grind them; and yet, with all these apparent advantages, all these commanding means, beauty has listened to the poorer, earlier artist-glazier, and has positively mocked the richer and later one. She has, I fear, laughed at his effort and left it to work out its own ridicule, which it has too surely done. But for all this, I would rather a thousand times over have the work of a man of that stamp utilised in such windows as these than the work of the autocratic restorer of modern days, who is far more the vital enemy of antiquaries and lovers of art; instead of inserting a fragment here and there, the latter would not stop short of wholesale releading and blundering rearrangement. You may see what has been done in the Lady Chapel at Gloucester, and also at Winchester, by this class of operator. And yet the original

maker of these windows was not necessarily a genius—it does not appear to me, at least, that he was such. What was he? What makes his work so endlessly interesting and impressive to us? Truly, he was nothing more than a strong and honest link in the great chain of artistic traditions. For three centuries directly behind him had the tide, not of science, but of art development, been continuously rising throughout Europe, and, what is more (as we now know it), was still for two more centuries to continue rising before its ebb. Practically (in our modern phrase) it is "blood that tells," and it was "blood" that the earlier artist had, and Mr. Collins, of the Strand, from no fault of his own, had *not!* Æsthetic blood of the bluest! It is clear, therefore, from this that the tide of art had far-fallen when the later man vainly attempted the impossible—namely, to think he was swimming in the great sea when he was paddling rather well, but in a mere puddle on the nearly-dried sands. And yet, let us not for a moment be harsh to him for his well-meant attempt. Under the sadly misused name of Art, and under the patronage of educated and learned officials, have we not over and over again witnessed the putting forth as works of high art the most affected crudities in the shape of stained windows?—windows that would not in the older days have been even allowed to go to the kiln, but which now are passed into the choirs and lady chapels of our most venerated churches and cathedrals, and honoured there with pompous unveilings and possibly episcopal tea-parties.

Things, however, are vastly improving, it must be confessed; and it is now understood that ordinary thin window-glass with no variety of surface, such as Mr. Collins used eighty years ago (like all his contemporaries) is absolutely unfitted for stained glass windows, and the so-called cathedral glass is the very worst possible material for painted windows: that no matter how fine may be the colours used in adorning them, their effects will be either miserably weak or else vulgarly glaring, unless the glass used be both very thick and naturally varied in surface. Every departure from the

mediæval method of making such glass only leads us astray. But there is, in fact, no reason whatever why we should not (providing there is no shortcoming in artistic power) produce as noble stained and painted glass as did our forefathers.

But, to avoid going here into too technical details, let me pass to consider a little the wide differences of our attitudes regarding the work of the past in this branch of art. For, in so wide a field as that included between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries, there is room for a wholesome variety of tastes. Usually, I find them dividing into three well-marked categories. The first includes most of those of us who prefer colour to drawing. These are consequently best pleased with glass of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and to them the flat-treatment (so seen in Tewkesbury choir windows), wanting in pictorial perspective, and conspicuous in certain rather primitive formalisms, far from seeming a cause of shortcoming, seem by their simplicity (or rather by the reduction of all complexities) more attractive and appropriate for the purposes of decoration. The second category includes both the numerous lovers of the silvery perpendicular glass (designed for loftier and wider spaces abounding with rich yellow stain and pale greyish blues, and a far broader and also more detailed style of colouring, together with superior drawing of the forms and faces), and those who prefer the still more perfected pictorial portrait-and-landscape glass of the Renaissance, which bravely and with exquisite finish often attempts impossible rivalry with the painter in oils. The third and last category, comprises all those who have never seriously studied the art at all or thought of its value, and for that reason are the readiest to offer opinion. It also includes those who patronisingly tell you that after all coloured glass is only a sort of pleasant-toned antimacassar or, as they are sometimes pleased facetiously to term it, a jumble of jewels. It is only, I need say, in relation to the attitudes of the former of these admirers that I desire to offer the few

remarks I have to make, and in some sort they may be considered a plea (sometimes necessary to urge), for those who prefer the earlier glass to the later. One of the points which, at all periods of art has been proved impossible to settle definitely (and doubtless it will continue to be so) is where the artist in this or that medium (marble, mosaic, or glass) ought to be short with himself, and to recognise the inherent limitations of that medium. It must be confessed that the nature of the average artist tends to brush aside these limitations, or to regard them as non-existant. The discipline of a fine period in Art is always short-lived. We are all of us aware that the schools of Pheidias, Pasiteles, and Glycon would have scorned the dramatic and realistic sculpture of succeeding Greek schools, just as the admirers of Sophocles and Æschylus regarded even the masterpieces of Euripides as a falling away; just as the builders of the Parthenon would have considered the Coliseum and St. Peter's equally monstrosities!—and artistically we cannot doubt that judgment would be on the side of the plaintiffs. Leaving aside Literature, in Sculpture we value suggestiveness more than realism. In Painting, where the medium is so tractable, we exact far more of realism; indeed, we instinctively claim it. Yet painting has limits in the direction of realism also, which cannot be transgressed without giving dissatisfaction. It is, therefore, far from difficult to understand that representations in the coloured transparent medium (such as is painted glass), must inevitably demand severer restrictions than does fresco or canvas; more especially when further it is recollected that glass-paintings were designed to produce their efforts from a height or a distance, beyond and above the spectator. The earlier masters of it, such as him who made these Tewkesbury windows, were fully aware of the relations of his art to that of mosaic as well as to painted picture. It was, in some not very distant degree, akin in its self-dictated formalism to Heraldry itself. But was it this which prevented him going further in the direction of realism?—for

he is certainly not a good draughtsman! My answer is in the negative. Had he been able to draw better, and had he acquired greater command of shading and perspective, I cannot doubt he would have used them here. He did not use conventional treatment, because it made for simplicity, or for fear of confusion, so as to please and instruct the beholder. He merely worked within the known zone of his art and could not go beyond, just as his thirteenth-century predecessors had worked in the confined and narrow Byzantine and Romanesque traditions of their day, and stopped short with them.

The delicate question that arises, then, for us of a later day is this. As we view the medium of presentation of picture in stained and painted glass, which is that fine historic moment in the development of this great art, the moment when we should put down our artistic finger to the artist and say, "Thus far, and no farther!" in which we are to say practically to ourselves, "I know that you can overcome still greater difficulties, that you can technically realise still more, by shading and stipple-shading, and more yellow stain, etc., but I would rather you did not go beyond your present attainment, which agreeably leaves something for my imagination"? The sheer fact of this complicated problem is this. We are not mediæval or Renaissance people; neither the one nor the other, but an eclectic product of a mass of periods, ingenious hybrids that sometimes, but not often, outshine the pure-breds; but certainly not belonging to an original great Decorative Art Period at all. To us it is no longer an intimate matter of feeling the exact amount of light we shall permit in our church or cathedral. To us it is no particular care how the rest of the church windows are filled so long as our own particular window commemorates, in some thoughtful manner, the individual to whose memory we desire to do honour. Hence one part of a modern church is sometimes dark and mysterious; another, light and shivering cold, with not even a shadow to clothe

its nakedness. Hence, also one window in an aisle will be found filled with glass imitating fourteenth-century style, while the traceries are clearly perpendicular, and in the next you will see Early English trefoils and Munich "transparencies."

But look back for a moment into the middle of our glass period, to the thirteenth century, when they could not command even fair figure-drawing nor refined execution, but had too often to fall back upon the geometrical method and represent networks of interlacing patterns, often no more profoundly fascinating to the beholders than handsome puzzles having their unerring solutions! The glory of these windows is in their unapproachable tints, the depth and richness of which our finest modern enamels cannot quite rival. To the mediæval mind these dark windows poetised the direct light of ordinary day, and subdued the aggressive efficiency thereof to a severe dimness, consonant with the mysterious gloom of its own imagination, which only "saw through a glass darkly." But to the student of old glass painting it cannot but appear (as to the student of architecture) that, even in those strange days of wars of the barons, of fanatical crusades, of the rise of the mendicant orders, and of the creation of Parliament, I mean the period included within the lives of the three Gilberts De Clare, there was faintly but clearly heard the same cry all over Europe that Goethe gave with his last mortal words—"More Light, more Light!" And like a slow sunrise from the sea Art in her most manifold splendour rearose, and immediately the windows of church and castle began to widen, and the thin splayed apertures became windows adorned with mullion and tracery, and the light, as it were of freedom, began somewhat solemnly (as was becoming) to stream in through them upon their congregations. Indeed, though I have introduced the word freedom figuratively, it may also be understood and applied with actuality. For nothing is more happily more beautifully true than that with man the life of physical light has increased in proportion with his inward illumination.

From being gloomy, fortress-like buildings, his mediæval churches became perfect palaces of coloured light and music, and cotemporaneously with this movement, with this lifting of the funereal curtain of mediæval darkness, occurs an immediate strengthening of the powers of artistic observation. Objects in nature which hitherto had been regarded by the artist as meriting conventional treatment only, were now discovered to possess unconsidered beauties of detail fully worthy of realistic rendering, while preserving a symbolical adaptation. Henceforward we begin to find the oak-leaf and acorn, the ivy-leaf and its berries, roses and trefoil, and, above all, the vine-scroll, appearing to advantage in the neatest possible undercut stone-foliage of cap and corbel—or painted in the borders of stained windows—or above them in their tracery lights; all depicted with the enlightened power of visible affection. The same movement is also noticed influencing the human figure and its ever-varying drapery, and archaism in its rendering manifests signs of coming departure. In fact, the characteristics of beauty hitherto either drily descried or totally unobserved, now discover themselves intimately in every section of the world of Art. And so ardent we know is the recognition of nature on the part of the Gothic fourteenth-century artist that his arches and doorways and windows, quite apart from their details, develop into elaborated leaf designs, trefoil quatrefoil, cinquefoil, etc. He is found paying the highest possible homage to the vegetable kingdom, to the flower world; and with this advance so powerfully marked towards the birth of the fourteenth century in architecture, sculpture, and painting, the painter-glazier endeavours to keep step with his far less tractable materials, carefully watching, however, as to what may be selected and adapted, and what may not, for his translucent pictures.

About the year 1310 was observed the important fact that white glass treated to a solution of silver and placed in the kiln would (according to the temperature to which it was subjected) take a transparent and indelible stain varying from

palest lemon to tawny orange. By means of this additional enrichment of his means windows were now produced with extraordinary effects of beauty in gold and silver. The delicate crockets and finials of white canopies would be touched with it into lines of light: the hair of angels, the crowns of monarchs, the mitres and staffs of prelates, the borders of robes, and the aureoles of the beatified, would be stained with it as with a celestial sunrise. Moreover, the heads of his figures could now be rendered in the same piece of glass with the nimbus or crown. It is not difficult to discern what a change, what a revolution, this portended in glass. So far the windows had been dark, and if grand and mysterious, totally wanting in what might be termed spiritual gaiety. Hitherto also the treatment of subject had been crude and flat, and confined to medallions and patterns of a graceful geometrical character. Now this treatment with stain added fresh possibilities. Borders with bright natural flowers began to appear, and rich diaper designs, borrowed from Oriental brocades, and the canopy and figure and niche, with elaborate decorative detail, developed apace; and by means of architectural foreshortening, perspective in glass-painting began to feel its way forward. Later followed the stipple-shading in the face and figure and other elaborations of which we have seen examples. But it need not be doubted that our artist was quite aware of the inequalities of his work. He knew well enough where his strength lay, and he envied the advances made in figure-rendering by the fresco painter who decorated the neighbouring walls. But, like the latter, he now found himself no longer confined to single circumscribed positions and very limited areas. The enlarging tracery windows invited him to carry his canopies in sequences across their "lights," thus forming positive bands of richly-coloured figures as we see in butterflies' wings, and giving those broad symphonious effects so familiar to us at York, at Gloucester, and here at Tewkesbury.

And it is at this stage of fascinating evolution of the art that we find our artist the author of these choir windows.

He works effectively at his figure and canopy, setting his carefully-armoured but rather monotonous knights in niches having backgrounds richly diapered alternately in green and ruby, while below each occurs his individual heraldic achievement. Above, however, rises magnificent tabernacle work, finial and flying buttress spiring delicately in silvery glass, and having in the centre of each tympanum a golden fleur-de-lis. It is only when we scrutinise the face-painting and figure-drawing that the craftsman fails, that his ambition seems mocked. At the same time his art has made very real advance in this direction also when compared with the awkward and archaic figures of fifty years before. His lines are more informed, and his action has far more suggestion of free movement. While he has improved notions of flesh tint, he has as yet acquired no modelling of facial muscle. In fact, he cannot pretend to much individualisation or finish. He is still ages behind the beatified bishop in the Deerhurst window or the work at Malvern, and but little in advance of the beautiful and slightly earlier St. Catherine, also at Deerhurst. The current of realism in portraiture which had set in among Tuscan painters has not yet touched the Tewkesbury artist. He is held suspended, as it were, between the archaism of the thirteenth century and the ambitious Naturalism of the coming Perpendicular period; but it is nevertheless easy to see that his tendency is forward, and not a stagnating one.

But there is yet more to be said in our artist's favour. For, might he not perhaps turn upon us and say: "It is all very well for you twentieth-century folk to come into this choir and scrutinise my clerestory windows by the aid of that exceedingly clever but very ugly instrument you appear to have invented, and then to criticise adversely my treatment of the human face divine, but my effect, such as it is, was calculated for a distance. You are expecting delicate effects which I might certainly have striven to render, had my windows been intended for positions nearer to the unassisted eye!" He might even be imagined to become still more

petulant with us, and say: "Really there is no being even with your want of consistency. There are beautiful, highly-finished, naturalistic figures and faces of real people as well as of saints and apostles, which noble masters who came at a later and more learned period than mine, painted for the aisle windows of Malvern Priory, at merely ten feet from the pavement, and you people have taken them and tossed them with their explanatory scrolls, etc., up among the lofty traceries of the west and east windows there, at altitudes where your telescopes and binoculars alone can make discoveries of their worth and meaning, and then you come here and blame me for not having put more detailed treatment into the faces of my clerestory Le Despensers and Zouches! But, when I think of these five De Clares and Fitz Hamon, having to face the dreadful arrangements of colour and heraldry you have inserted opposite them in the south clerestory window here, truly perhaps my astonishment at your other proceedings becomes lessened." Indeed, I would willingly detain this probably modest, but clear-sighted and grave craftsman, a little longer, and ask him to tell us many delightful things of Tewkesbury in his own day, and who were the architects who worked there then, and painted the wall-spaces, now bare, and how often Eleanor Despenser and her son Hugo III. came in and viewed his progress on the new windows, and perhaps kneeled there in prayer touched with bitter memories; and what also were the names of the sculptors who made some of these splendid effigies! But I must not take up more than the good share of time you have so kindly permitted me to appropriate. Still, I would not willingly quit my subject without just one word about that other magnificent spread of stained and painted glass at Great Malvern. For the contrast between these two is a most fortunate one, and it well illustrates the gap of 120 years of time which intervened between their makings, and if by its simple nobleness and by its depth, as well as splendour, of colour, the Tewkesbury glass proclaims its rougher virility of character,

most assuredly the windows at Malvern Priory with their spacious seas of silver washed with blue and gold, their delicate finish and sometimes even rather timid effect reveal a more perfect but far more feminine tendency in the art. We may prefer which we like, but we are not likely, once having had a thorough look at both, to ever forget their relative dignities, and to heartily admire them and to especially express our thanks to the citizens of venerable Tewkesbury for having preserved them.

# HERALDRY IN TEWKESBURY ABBEY.

Read in October, 1902, by F. WERE.

## NAVE, N. AISLE.

1: Flat stone under arch. "... ten roundles 4.3.2.1 on a chief a demi lion rampant issuant," JEYNE, 1669. Bigland says, "Torteaux and in chief"; but I think this must be Papworth's JUYN: "Sable ten bezants 4.3.2.1 on a chief argent a demi lion rampant issuant gules;" on esquire's helmet on wreath. Crest defaced.

2: On lozenge. JEYNE, as 1, 1658.

3: JEYNE, as 1. Crest defaced, something like paw holding ? rose; possibly a lion's gamb holding oak tree. Juyn's crest.

Shield on effigy, long ascribed to Lord Wenlock, but proved to be earlier. Bigland does not give it. "A chevron between three lions' (not leopards') faces maned, bearded, and langued." This has been attributed to the De Burleys, but I cannot find that they bore this coat (*see* Harleian, *Shropshire Visitation*, i. 254) when K.G., possibly they may have done so earlier. The crest (*see* illustration) on the helmet reads, "Out of a ducal coronet a ? camel's head langued." The only family I can find which this might represent is WHELER, who bear "Or a chevron between three leopards' heads (really lions' faces) sable," but I doubt the date.

## N. TRANSEPT.

By organ. "... on bend three dolphins embowed." Flat stone says Tristram, 1747. Bigland says, "A bend three dolphins." There is an adjoining stone giving the name BARES, who bore "Argent on a bend sable three dolphins naiant or," so I suppose Tristram was the husband's name.

*Face page 162.*

TILTING HELMET ON SO-CALLED
WENLOCK TOMB.

Flat stone. Bigland says over the inscription Anne Jones, 1744, are the arms and crest of WOODWARD: "(Azure) a pale between two eagles displayed (argent)."

Brass on floor. Two atchievements. 1: "(Azure) three lozenges conjoined in fess (or); a martlet for difference," FREEMAN. Crest: On esquire's helmet on wreath a demi wolf (argent), generally holding in his paws a lozenge of the same. 2: Defaced, but apparently ROBERTS.

Mural. "Argent on a chief sable three lions' heads erased of the field langued gules," RICHARDSON. No date.

"Per pale argent and gules over all a lion rampant sable," ROBERTS, 1631.

CHOIR AISLE.

N. side floor. "(Argent) on a cross (sable) a leopard's face (or); in dexter chief a crescent for difference," BRIDGES, 1669.

Atchievement. BRIDGES, 1731, impaling (query, as I cannot find marriage) "(Azure) three leopards' faces, 2 and 1, a chief embattled ermine," MICHELL, Berks. Crest: On esquire's helmet on wreath a Moor's head banded sidefaced.

Atchievement. "(Sable) on a bend (argent) three roses (gules)," ROSE, 1757. Crest: On esquire's helmet on wreath. Bigland says a cockatrice.

CHOIR VESTRY.

N.E. window. 1, FRANCE and ENGLAND; 2, ABBEY; 3, FITZHAMON; 4, GRANVILLE; 5, DESPENCER.

Screen. DESPENCER.

Fragment, N. wall. ". . . a crozier in bend between six crosses patty fitchy."

ST. MARGARET'S CHAPEL.

Atchievement. "(Argent) a cross raguly (gules)," LAWRENCE, impaling "(Gules) a chevron between three leopards' faces (argent)," COLLES, 1702. Crest: On

esquire's helmet on wreath a fish in pale, tail upwards couped proper. Motto: "Loyal au mort."

Atchievement. "(Argent) on a bend (sable) three fleurs de lis (or) on a chief (of the second) a lion passant (of the third), HAYWARD, 1768, impaling, Bigland says, "three bars," query, on esquire's helmet issuant out of a mural crown (or) a demi lion rampant (sable) holding in his dexter paw a fleur de lis (of the first).

Tomb. Six shields. 1 and 3, 4 and 6: "(Or) three piles (azure)," BRIAN, impaling "(Argent) three fusils conjoined in fess (gules)," MONTACUTE. 2 and 5: BRIAN.

Atchievement. "(Azure) on a bend (or) generally, goutty de sang three leopards' faces (sable)," KEMBLE, 1707, impaling, query, MICHELL, Berks. Crest: On esquire's helmet on wreath a lion's head erased (not the usual one).

AMBULATORY.

Mural. Two shields. 1: "Per fess or and azure a fess embattled counterembattled between three fleurs de lis, all counterchanged." WALL, 1808, with escutcheon of pretence, quarterly of four. 1, "Gules on a fess between three swans' necks erased argent ducally gorged of the first as many mascles sable," MARTIN; 2, "Argent a chevron between three eagles' legs erased at the thigh sable," ? BRAY; 3, "Argent on a chief gules two bucks' heads or," POPHAM; 4, "Argent a fess engrailed gules between three mascles sable within a bordure of the second," really "Argent a chevron between three mascles sable within a bordure engrailed gules," MARTIN.

2: WALL, with escutcheon of pretence. "Ermine on a chief sable three escallops or," TAYLOR. Crest: Out of a mural coronet or a wolf's head argent charged on the neck with a fess embattled counterembattled gules."

"Gules (really sable) a cross engrailed or in first quarter a mullet argent," PEYTON, 1742, impaling "Azure a chevron ermine between three lions' heads erased or langued gules," KARVER, 1773.

Boss in roof, St. Edward's Chapel. DESPENCER.

Floor. On lozenge: "(Or) a chevron (gules); a mullet for difference," STAFFORD, impaling quarterly 1 and 4, "(? Argent) three bars (azure). *Leicester Visitation* adds, "On a canton or a fess sable, and in chief three mascles of the last," STANFORD, 1707; 2 and 3, "(Sable) a chevron between three stags' horns with the scalps (argent)," COCKS.

Clarence vault. Tiles: COBHAM, BEAUCHAMP, ROYAL, WARWICK, SOMERVILLE, STRONGBOW.

ST. FAITH'S CHAPEL.

Flat stones. On lozenge: "(Gules) a dexter hand couped (argent) on a chief (of the second), three fighting cocks (of the first)," HANCOCK, 1729.

"Per chevron (argent and gules) a crescent in fess and in chief two roses barbed, all counterchanged," CHAPMAN, 1720 (a variation, their coat is given in Atkyns and Nayler with a canton only), impaling "(Gules) seven lozenges conjoined 3.3.1 vair." Monument says GUY, the same as GUISE, 1717.

Mural. "Argent a fess sable and in chief three cinquefoils (entrailed) of the last." Bigland says "vert," HALE impaling "Argent three Cornish choughs proper," PENNISTON, 1700.

Below HALE as above.

"Azure a fleur de lis argent on a chief of the second a lion passant gules," FOWKE, 1818, impaling "Argent a saltire sable between in chief and in base a crescent of the second within bordure gules," MAXWELL. Crest: On wreath a cubit arm vested holding a broken spear sinisterways.

Side chapel. "? Azure a cross patty ? or," perhaps WARD.

Flat stone. "(Sable) on a chevron between three hinds trippant (argent) as many annulets (of the first)," COLLET, 1712. Crest: On esquire's helmet on wreath a hind trippant argent. Motto: "Conatus in magnis laudandus."

On pilgrim's staff: ". . . a chevron . . . between three escallops. . . ." ? FORTHINGTON, 1253. On Cheltenham tomb.

Mural. Quarterly 1 and 4, grand quarters. Quarterly

1 and 4, "Or on a chief sable three escallops (argent), really of the first," GRAHAM, 1852; 2 and 3, "Or a fess chequy azure and argent; a crescent for difference," STEWART. 2 and 3, grand quarters, "Azure six annulets, 3.2.1 argent (really or)," MUSGRAVE, with baronet's inescutcheon, impaling "Per pale vert, and or on a bend ermine between two plain cotises argent, and as many escallops counterchanged, three griffins' heads erased of the first," YOUNG.

Side of tomb. "A chevron between two lions couchant chevronwise respecting." The base is gone, but the coat is LYONS: "Argent a chevron sable between three lions couchant (may be dormant), the two in chief chevronwise respecting gules." The family of Lyons were the founders of Long Ashton Church, Somerset.

Flat stone. Bigland leaves this blank, but I read it as "(Gules) a chevron (or) between three bezants," GOLDING, impaling ". . . three palets . . . on a chief . . . as many mullets. . . ." Papworth gives a coat like this, but it is Akerman, 1456, and untinctured, possibly intended for Tonge, one of the Golding quarterings.

Flat stone. On lozenge: "(Or) a cross (quarterly quartered gules and sable) in first quarter, eagle displayed (of the third)," WEBB, impaling "(Argent) on a chevron (gules) between three owls (sable) as many lozenges ermine, on a chief (azure) three hazel branches (or)," HAZLEWOOD, 1735.

Flat stone. "(Argent) six lions rampant 3.2.1 (sable)." Bigland and the stone say Felton, but there is a Savage flat stone close by whose arms they are most likely to be. "Gules two lions passant in pale ermine, sometimes crowned or" is FELTON, 1762.

Atchievement. Armories give this as "(Or) a lion passant (gules), in base three bars wavy (sable), on a chief (azure) three bezants," HANKINS, D'Avenant, 1782 (this is curious, as it is almost identical with Hawkins), impaling "(Gules) on a cross flory quarter-pierced (argent) twelve escallops 3.3.3.3. (sable)," HUMFREY. Crest: On esquire's helmet on wreath a demi negro with bow over shoulder and

quiver of arrows, holding in his hands extended a snake, all proper.

Effigy on tomb, clothed with DESPENCER coat.

On lozenge: "(Azure) a chevron ermine between three escallops (argent)," TOWNSEND, 1685.

Flat stone. "(Azure) two bars humetty (argent) between three lions passant (or)," MINTERNE, 1656. Crest: On esquire's helmet on wreath a bull's head couped gules ducally gorged and armed or. (This crest ought not to be here, as the monument was to Frances, daughter of Henry Minterne, and wife of Edmund Boylston.)

Chapel. Flat stones. 1: "(Azure) three fusils in fess (or)," FREEMAN, impaling "(Or) between in chief two bends (gules) an escallop (sable)," TRACY, 1670. 2: On lozenge, TRACY, 1639.

S. TRANSEPT.

On lozenge: "(Gules) a fess vair between three mullets (argent)." Crest: On esquire's helmet on wreath on a ducal coronet or a talbot sejant sable," BAUGH, 1678. (Here is another instance of a misapplied crest.)

Mural. "Gules on a fess or (may be argent) three lions passant guardant sable (may be purpure)," OLDISWORTH, impaling "Gules an escutcheon argent between orle of ten estoiles or," CHAMBERLAYNE, 1684.

Tiles. BEAUCHAMP, DESPENCER, and the chained and muzzled bear.

NAVE.

S. wall. "Per fess embattled or and azure, a cross patty in chief between three fleurs de lis," variation of WALL, 1847. Motto: "Nil conscire sibi."

Flat stone. "(Vert) a saltire wavy ermine," WAKEMAN, 1634, on helmet on wreath a lion's head couped (or), spitting fire proper.

Mural. "Gules a chevron between three griffins' heads or,' WYNDE, 1716. Armories give the tinctures reversed.

D'AVENANT HANKINS as before, 1837.

S.W. pillar. "Azure a fess ermine between three wolves' heads erased or collared sable," TAYLER, 1735, impaling "Or a fret azure," EATON, 1726.

Under W. window, quite indistinct from below and difficult of access, Dyde says, are five shields, which I believe is correct, and he gives them as follows:—

1: On a lozenge, TRACY of Stanway, impaling "Gules a bend or." (I can find no Tracy marriage to corroborate this. ? Foliot.)

2: "Azure two keys in saltire, the sinister argent surmounting the dexter or," ST. PETER'S, GLOUCESTER, ensigned with a mitre.

3: On a lozenge, "Gules a dexter hand couped argent, on a chief of the second, three cocks of the first," HANCOCK of Twyning, impaling "Or a fess wavy between six labels of three points sable," BAUGH.

4: HANCOCK, impaling "Gules a fess vair between three mullets argent," BAUGH of Twyning.

5: "Azure a lion rampant argent," POOL of Salperton.

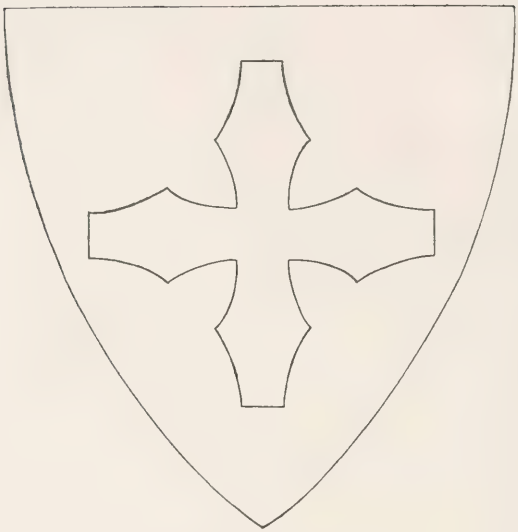
W. FRONT, OUTSIDE.

"A chevron between three griffins' heads erased," WYNDE, 1686.

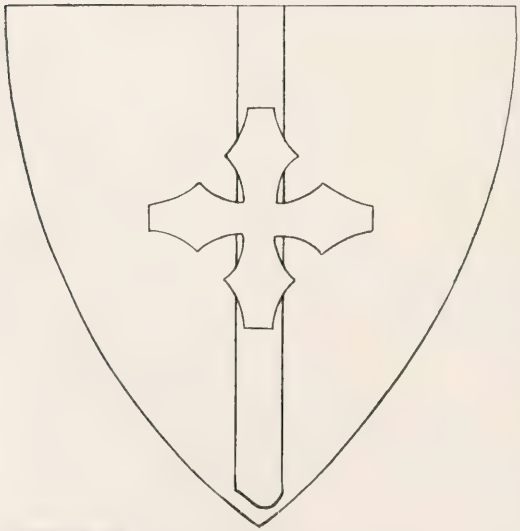
CHOIR.

WINDOWS. North-West. (1) Lights. 1: "Gules three clarions, 2 and 1, or," ROBERT CONSUL; below, "? Argent, a saltire gules," NEVILLE. 2: "Or ? three chevrons gules," CLARE; below, mixture. 3: Quarterly 1 and 4, "Argent a bend sable"; 2 and 3, "Gules fretty or," DESPENCER; below, mixture. 4: "Azure a lion rampant, ? guardant or," FITZHAMON; below, mixture.

(2) Lights. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 defaced. Below 3, ? on lozenge: "Vert four saltires argent." High up in this window is a shield of MORTIMER with the dexter gyron based on chief and joining the dexter palet, while the sinister gyron is based on chief but joining the side of shield.



ABBEY WINDOW.



*Face page 169.*

ABBEY. FOUNDER'S TILE.

(3) Lights. 1: blank. 2: apparently quarterly. 1, "Argent three bends sable"; 2, "? Three mascles vert, impaling another mascle"; 3, "Argent three bends sinister sable"; 4 as 2, defaced. 3: "Barry of five gules and argent per pale counterchanged within bordure azure." 4: Mixture. 5: First quarter, "Vert four bezants 2.1.1. The other quarters blank.

E. WINDOW. Lights. 1: "Gules a cross engrailed or," TEWKESBURY ABBEY. *See* illustration. This is generally given as a cross engrailed, but Woodward, *Eccl. Heraldry*, p. 387, gives this note: "The engrailure takes the form of one large indentation on either side of each arm." It is really a cusped cross, as if the designer had said, "We will join four blunt spear-heads together," and is given in Armories "within a bordure argent," but I failed to see one such in the abbey. On the founder's tile it is on a palet, possibly stem of pastoral staff, having its head on an adjoining tile. 2: "Chevronny inverted azure, gules, vert within bordure argent." Query a late mixture, but did the bordure belong to the Abbey Cross? 3: "? Chequy gules, or, and azure, and above on a square ? or three lions of England within bordure argent." 4: "Barry of twelve argent and azure," most probably DE MONCHENSI, the foundation of the Valence coat. 5: "Barry nebuly of six argent and gules, a bend azure," D'AMORI. Elizabeth, sister of Gilbert the last Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, married as her third husband Roger D'Amory.

WINDOWS. South-East. (1) Lights. 1: DESPENCER; 2 3, 4 and 5, mixtures. (2) Lights. 1: "Argent on a saltire gules an escallop or," ROCHESTER BISHOPRIC. 2: "Sable on a cross ? or ? five cinquefoils of the first," ST. DAVID'S BISHOPRIC. 3: "Gules a bend or goutty de poix two mullets argent," BANGOR BISHOPRIC. 4: "Argent on a cross sable a mitre with labels or," CARLISLE BISHOPRIC. 5: "Azure a saltire per saltire quarterly counterchanged argent and or, really or and argent," WELLS BISHOPRIC.

(3) Lights. 1: "Or three chevrons gules," Clare;

below, CLARE impaling DESPENCER. The latter has a bend sinister in the first quarter. This, together with the fact that a Despencer married a Clare, looks as if the shield was reversed. 2: "Gules bezanty," ZOUCHE; below, "Quarterly CLARE and DESPENCER," impaling "Argent three piles gules," query impaling "Gules on a fess argent, three lozenges of the first," query. I can make nothing of this double impaling, and the impaling might be a separate shield or intended for Brian and Montacute. If the last, it is reversed, as it was Lady Despencer who married Guy de Brien. 3: CLARE; below, Quarterly 1 and 4, CLARE; 2 and 3, "Gules fretty or," AUDLEY, impaling CLARE, one of the coheiresses of Gilbert Clare. Margaret, widow of Piers Gaverston, married Hugh de Audley. This would account for the quartering, but how Audley can be quartered with Clare before this so as to impale CLARE I cannot make out. If the quarterly had been Despencer it would have represented the marriage of Hugh Despencer with Eleanor Clare.

S. wall. Mural. "Argent a saltire azure," SLAUGHTER, impaling "Argent on a bend gules three mascles of the first," PERT, 1640. Crest: Bigland says, Issuant out of a ducal coronet a Phœnix azure; really, Out of a ducal coronet or an eagle's head between two wings azure beaked of the first.

FLOOR OF CHOIR.

N.W. side. Beauchamp chantry, beginning east end, five shields. 1: Quarterly, CLARE and DESPENCER, impaling "Gules a lion rampant, double-tailed, or," BURGHERSH. Edward Despencer, *ob.* 1375, married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Bartholomew Burghersh. 2: CLARE, defaced. 3: DESPENCER, defaced. 4 as 1. 5: CLARE.

Same tomb, E. end, six shields. 1: Quarterly, CLARE and DESPENCER, impaling "FRANCE and ENGLAND quarterly, with a label of three points gules, each charged with as many castles or," YORK. Thomas Despencer married Constance, daughter of Edmund Langley, Duke of York. 2: Quarterly, CLARE and DESPENCER. 3: FRANCE and

ENGLAND, quarterly, with label of three points. ? John PLANTAGENET, impaling Quarterly 1 and 4, "Gules a castle or," CASTILE; 2 and 3, "Argent a lion rampant gules," LEON. 4: ? The same as the baron of 3. 5: The femme of 3. 6: FRANCE and ENGLAND, almost defaced.

Tiles. Beauchamp Chantry. "Gules on a fess between six crosses, croslet a crescent of the first," BEAUCHAMP.

At the back in choir aisle. A great many defaced shields, but amongst them is CLARE and DESPENCER, impaling CASTILE and LEON, which would represent JOAN D'ACRE, who used her mother's arms, being daughter of Eleanor of Castile, King Edward I.'s wife; but the quartering of Despencer here seems wrong, as it was Gilbert Clare, the Red Earl, who married her; also CLARE, impaling ENGLAND, which would mean the same marriage; ENGLAND, CLARE, DESPENCER, impaling CLARE.

Tiles. Founder's Chapel. Lion rampant guardant with dragon's claws, FITZHAMON, impaling "On stem of pastoral staff the ABBEY," also fleurs de lys. NEVILLE charged with a rose and label of three points, impaling DESPENCER. It was Elizabeth Beauchamp, daughter of Isabel Despencer, that married Edward Neville. ENGLAND, impaling modern FRANCE.

Modern tiles on floor of choir:—

CLARE; BOHUN; BURGHERSH; CORBET; NEWBURGH (Warwick); DESPENCER; ENGLAND and FRANCE; BEAUCHAMP, with martlets and billets and with crescent for difference; FITZHAMON AND ABBEY; EDWARD CONFESSOR; ? COBHAM. On a fess between three lions' faces as many annulets. This should be "Argent on a fess between three annulets gules as many leopards' faces or," SOMERVILLE; ? WARWICK.

ADDENDA.

The following are given by Bigland and Dyde, but though most of the inscriptions remain the coats have disappeared, Mr. W. G. Bannister, 1903, who has been a most painstaking guide, tells me so.

"Quarterly or and gules, over all on a bend sable three escallops argent," EURE, 1632. (Dyde, 1798.)

". . . a chevron inter three . . . heads erased." Monument says WINTLE, but they do not bear a coat like this, impaling "a bend raguly." Query 1694. (Bigland.)

". . . a . . . int three Cath wheels. . . ." Monument says DATCHELER of London, 1696. (Bigland.) I cannot find such a family, but it might be his wife's coat. (All gone.)

Bigland says: "Two lions passant guardant," HATCH, 1667; but Dyde gives it correctly, "Gules two demi lions passant guardant or."

Bigland says: "In chief a cross between two fleur de lis." Monument says PRICE, 1787. No such coat known for Price, perhaps his wife's. The only Price with a cross is between pheons, but not "in chief."

Both Bigland and Dyde say: "Argent on a chief gules two stags' heads cabossed or," POPHAM, impaling "Vert a chevron between three greyhounds courant argent," NASH, 1775.

Bigland and Dyde say: "Gules a chevron between three doves argent, a chief ermine," SAYER. Bigland, 1645. Dyde, 1699.

# THE BATTLE OF TEWKESBURY, 1471.

By Rev. CANON BAZELEY, M.A.

At daybreak on Easter Day, April 14th, 1471, a fierce battle commenced at Barnet between Edward IV. and Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick.

At first the Lancastrians had the advantage; but an accidental collision between two parts of Warwick's forces, which occurred in consequence of a thick fog, changed the fortune of the day. By noon Warwick the King maker, his brother, the Marquis of Montague, many other leaders on either side, and some four thousand[1] of the rank and file lay dead or dying on the blood-stained field.

The same day, or it may be on the preceding day, Margaret of Anjou, Henry VI.'s Queen, landed at Weymouth after many futile attempts to cross the wind-swept Channel. With her were Edward, the young Prince of Wales, John Longstrother, Prior of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, Lord Wenlock, and many other adherents.

Hall, Grafton and other chroniclers tell us that she proceeded to Beaulieu Abbey, in the New Forest, but this is evidently a mistake. An unknown chronicler, who calls himself "a servante of Edward the Fourth," and claims to have been an eye-witness of the events he relates, tells us that Margaret took up her quarters at Cerne Abbey, in Dorset.[2] It was the Countess of Warwick, who had landed a few days sooner, at Portsmouth, who had taken sanctuary at Beaulieu.

[1] Green's *Hist. of the English People*, ii. 45.

[2] Fleetwood's MS., printed by the Camden Society as their first volume, and entitled *Historie of the arrival of Edward IV. in England and the finall Recouerye of his Kingdomes from Henry VI., A.D. 1471.*

The evil news from Barnet reached Margaret on Easter Monday, and for a time her dauntless courage forsook her. "When," says Hall, "she harde all these miserable chaunces and misfortunes, so sudainly one in another necke to have taken effect, she like a woman all dismaied for feare, fell to the ground, her harte was pierced with sorrowe, her speech was in a manner passed and all her spirits were tormented with melancholy."

But the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Devon, who hastened to her at Cerne, encouraged her to try once more the chances of a battle. The former, Edmund Beaufort, who was destined to wreck her cause a few weeks later at Tewkesbury, was the second son of Edmund, Duke of Somerset, and grandson of John of Gaunt. His father had fallen in the battle of St. Alban's in 1455, and his eldest brother, whom he succeeded, had been beheaded at Hexham in 1463. His mother was Alianore Beauchamp, one of the coheiresses of the mighty house of Warwick. Thomas Courtenay, Earl of Devon, had been present with his father at the battle of Towton in 1461, and had been attainted by Edward IV.

Acting on the advice of these nobles, Margaret and Prince Edward removed to Exeter, and sent for Sir John Arundel of Lanherne and Sir Hugh Courtenay of Boconnock, Cornishmen of considerable influence and renown. The presence of the Queen in the capital of the West, and the support of the principal nobility and gentry of those parts, quickly availed in attracting to her standard a large force, and by the end of April she was ready to march northwards.

In the meanwhile Edward IV., who had disbanded his victorious forces after the battle of Barnet, having knowledge of her proceedings, was raising a new army in London. On April 19th he went to Windsor, where he kept the Feast of St. George (April 23rd), and on the day following he set forth to meet his foes.

It was the intention of Queen Margaret to cross the

Severn at Gloucester and join forces with Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke; but she strove by false reports to lead her foe to suppose that she would march through the southern counties to London, hoping by this stratagem to elude his army.

Jasper Tudor, whose chequered career is full of interest and romance, was the second son of a Welsh knight, Sir Owen Tudor, and of his wife, Queen Katherine, widow of Henry V. Their elder son, Edmund of Hadham, who married Margaret, daughter of John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, became the father of Henry VII. Jasper Tudor was created Earl of Pembroke by his half-brother, Henry VI.; but in 1461 he was compelled to fly from the kingdom, and the earldom was granted to William Herbert. In 1470, on the capture and execution of Herbert after the battle of Edgecott, Jasper Tudor was restored to his earldom and made guardian of his nephew, Henry Tudor, then a boy of ten years old. In 1471 he raised troops in Pembrokeshire and marched eastwards on the north bank of the Severn to join forces with Queen Margaret; but, as we shall see, the refusal of the citizens of Gloucester to allow Margaret to cross their bridge, and the decisive battle of Tewkesbury, changed his plans and frustrated his hopes. He retired to Chepstow Castle, where he ran the risk of being captured by Roger Vaughan, an emissary of Edward IV. Later on he was besieged in Pembroke Castle, but he managed to escape to Tenby and took ship for France with his nephew. For fourteen years they were poverty-stricken exiles, and well-nigh prisoners, in Brittany. In 1485 they landed at Milford Haven, and the battle of Bosworth Field which quickly followed placed Henry on the throne. Jasper for the third time became Earl of Pembroke, and was restored to his honours and possessions. He married Katharine Woodville, sister of Elizabeth, Queen of Edward IV. and widow of Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, and he died on the 21st of December, 1493, leaving no issue.

Edward spent Sunday, April 28th, at Abingdon, and on

the day following reached Cirencester by the Ikenild Street. There tidings reached him that the Queen would be at Bath on Tuesday, the 30th, which was true, and that she would advance on the morrow to give him battle, which she had no intention of doing. However, on Tuesday Edward set his forces in array and marched three miles out of the town,[1] no doubt occupying the Roman camp known as Trewsbury, which commanded Ackman Street[2] and the source of the Thames.

It does not appear why he forced the male inhabitants of Cirencester to accompany him to Trewsbury. Perhaps he doubted their loyalty, and he did not wish in case of a repulse to have a hostile population in his rear. He had practised the same strategy before the battle of Barnet: Edward "wolde ne suffre one man to abyde in the same towne, but had them all to the field with hym."[3]

On Wednesday, the 1st, seeing no sign of the enemy's approach, Edward proceeded to Malmesbury, to find that the Lancastrian army had turned aside and occupied Bristol. This ancient borough, which at that time ranked next to London in wealth and population, was divided in its sympathies, but the Queen obtained the provisions she greatly needed, as well as money, men and artillery;[4] and on Thursday, May 2nd, she marched by the Patchway and Ridgeway to Berkeley Castle, where she rested that night.

Smythe, the Berkeley historian, tells us nothing in his *Lives of the Berkeleys* of this visit, nor do we know where William, Lord Berkeley, was at this time. He had been carrying on a civil war on his own account, and on the 20th March, 1470, he had fought a pitched battle at Nibley Green, against Thomas Talbot, Lord Lisle, and had slain him.

[1] "For whiche cawse, and for that he would se and set his people in array, he drove all the people owt of the towne, and lodgyd hym, and his hoste that nyght in the fielde iij myle out of the towne."

[2] The name given to that part of the Foss-way connecting Cirencester with Bath.

[3] Fleetwood's *Chronicler*, pp. 18, 25.

[4] As we shall see, Harvey, the Recorder of Bristol, was one of those who died for the Lancastrian cause at Tewkesbury.

Edward IV., crossing the Cotteswolds by Easton Gray, Great Sherston, and Badminton, occupied the Roman camp of Sodbury, not far from Dyrham, where the British kings of Gloucester, Cirencester and Bath had sustained a crushing defeat from the Saxon invaders in 577.

A skirmish between the advanced guards of the two armies seems to have taken place in the town of Chipping Sodbury. On Friday morning, May 3rd, Edward learned that his foes had taken their way towards Gloucester; and immediately he sent off a message to the governor, Richard Beauchamp, son and heir of Sir John, Lord Beauchamp of Powick, to hold the city for him at any cost and prevent the Queen from crossing the Severn by the West Gate bridge.

Lord Beauchamp was Lord Treasurer of England and Justice of South Wales, and Henry VI. had given him an annuity of £60 a year out of the fee farm of Gloucester. He died in 1475. Sir Richard Beauchamp married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Humphrey Stafford, and left three daughters coheiresses.

Queen Margaret having marched all night along the western trackway, arrived at the South Gate of Gloucester at ten o'clock on Friday morning, hoping to be allowed to pass through the city and cross the Severn; but notwithstanding the fact that many of the citizens were well disposed towards her, she was refused admission. At first the Lancastrians threatened to storm the walls, but knowing that Edward was close on their right flank they deemed prudence the better part of valour, and passing through the open lands of Tredworth and crossing the Portway which led to the East Gate, they rejoined the highway beyond the Lower North Gate. One hundred and seventy-two years later another English sovereign, also marching from Bristol and Berkeley, demanded admission, and he also was refused. In Margaret's case the refusal brought about disaster on the next day. Disaster followed quite as surely in the case of King Charles, but the end was longer delayed.

The only bridge over the Severn between Gloucester and

Worcester was at Upton-on-Severn. Probably Margaret hoped that by hurrying forward she might outstrip her pursuers and cross in safety at Upton. There were three roads connecting Gloucester with Tewkesbury in the fifteenth century. (1) The Lower Way, which turned off from the present high-road at Norton in the direction of Wainlode, and passing through Apperley and Deerhurst, kept close to the banks of the Severn as far as the Lower Lode near Tewkesbury. At its best this was only a trackway for pack horses and mules. It was subject to frequent floods, and often quite impassable. (2) The Upper Way, which followed the course of the present road through Twigworth, Norton, the Leigh, to Deerhurst Walton. Bennett, in his *History of Tewkesbury*, thinks that from Walton it wound round towards Notcliffe, keeping to the lower ground, and crossed Hoo Lane about a quarter of a mile to the west of the Odessa Inn on the present road.[1] But the name Salter's Hill, which we find on the ordnance map, and which evidently refers to an ancient saltway, suggests that a road climbed the rising ground in a northward direction. From Hoo Lane, where it met a cross-road from Tredington, the Gloucester road ran through Southwick, crossing a little brook[2] at the farm, and keeping to the west of what is now Southwick Park. A green way marks its course as far as Lincoln Green. At Lincoln Green it met an ancient British road, which probably connected the Rudgeway[3] with the Lower Lode.

[1] P. 277.

[2] The name of this brook, which played an important part in the battle of Tewkesbury, is unknown; but "Lincoln Green" over which it flows suggests "Coln," and I shall venture to call it so.

[3] The Rudgeway was an important British trackway which ran from the mouth of the Tyne across Britain into South Wales. It entered Gloucestershire near Ashton-on-the-Hill, and ran through Beckford and Ashchurch to Tredington, where it crossed the Swillgate by a lode or a bridge. Mr. Witts, in his *Arch. Handbook of Glos.*, suggests that a branch of it crossed the Severn near Tewkesbury. This branch probably crossed the Swillgate at a lode near Prest's Bridge, and ran westward to the Lower Lode.

It seems doubtful whether, in the fifteenth century, there was any bridge over the Swillgate near the Hermitage[1] or any highway leading into Tewkesbury, where the present road enters it, for the abbey property extended from the abbey to the Ham. Some sixty years after the Dissolution, in 1602, a wooden bridge was thrown over the brook; this was rebuilt in 1635 and widened in 1757, and again in 1827, when the causeway leading to it from the town was considerably raised.[2] It seems probable that previous to 1602 the road from Gloucester turned to the right at Lincoln Green, joined the Cheltenham and Tewkesbury Road at Queen Margaret's Camp, and passing round Holme Castle and below Perry Hill, crossed the Swillgate by a wooden bridge and entered the town by Gander Lane northward of the abbey precincts. This accounts for the position of Holme Castle. It was built to command the only entrance into Tewkesbury from the south. The site of the present Lower Lode Lane probably lay under water, and the traveller on crossing the lode had to climb the high ground where "Tewkesbury Park" now stands. Ancient roads seem to have avoided towns where it was possible, no doubt with a view to escape the tolls which were levied by townsmen on merchandise passing through. (3) There was a third road from Gloucester to Tewkesbury, which was used by Henry VIII. and his Queen, Anne Boleyn, in their progress of 1535. An old book of ordinances in the possession of the Gloucester Corporation tells us how the mayor, sheriffs, aldermen, burgesses and clergy of Gloucester met the royal party at Brickhampton.[3] This road branched off from the Ermine Street at Wotton, and, crossing Elm Bridge, followed the present Cheltenham road beyond Brickhampton, whence it turned northward, and passing through Staverton, Boddington, and Hardwick

[1] The Hermitage gave its name to the turnpike erected in the eighteenth century near the present workhouse. Was it the very spot where Theocus built his anchorite's cell late in the seventh century? Leland says, "Theocus Heremita mansiunculam habuit prope Sabrinam unde & Theokesbyria."

[2] Bennett, p. 202. [3] See *Report of H. M. MS. Dépt.*, No. 12

Farm, joined the Cheltenham and Tewkesbury road at Tredington Bridge.

Queen Margaret probably chose the Upper Way, as it led to the Lower Lode.

Fleetwood's *Chronicler* tells us that the Lancastrians travelled thirty-six long miles (from Berkeley to Tewkesbury) in a foul country all in lanes and stony ways, betwixt woods, without any refreshment, and that they reached Tewkesbury about four o'clock in the afternoon. Nor were they permitted to march unmolested. Sir Richard Beauchamp attacked their rear and captured several guns, a loss which they felt severely on the next day.[1]

Early on Friday morning Edward IV., having divided his army into three forces, and sending on before him his "foryders and scorers," marched thirty miles from Sodbury to Cheltenham by the Portway, along the open table-land of the Cotteswolds, almost within sight of the Lancastrians.

Although it was still spring the weather was very hot, and there was no "mansmete nor horsemete," nor as much as drink for the horses. The only stream they crossed on their way, the Froom in the Stroud Valley, was so befouled by the feet of the horses and the wheels of the carriages that its water was unfit for drinking purposes. But the Yorkist host pressed onwards and upwards, and passing the ancient village of Painswick and Kimsbury Camp, they left the Portway at the Abbot of St. Peter's manor-house of Prinknash and reached Cheltenham by Birdlip and Leckhampton. Here they rested for awhile and ate and drank the scanty provisions which Edward had brought with him. Then Edward marched on through Swindon and Stoke Orchard, and spent the night at the old Parsonage House at Tredington, some three miles distant from Queen Margaret's position. The churches of these three villages all date from the revival of church building early in the twelfth century, some three hundred and fifty years before Edward marched past them. Edward and his host saw them much as they

[1] Hall's *Chronicle*, fol. 31.

appear to us now. The house where Edward slept might have been still standing in all its early fifteenth-century beauty; but reckless restorers have swept part of it away, within the memory of man, and have turned the remainder into humble cottages.

Even in these days of steam rollers and macadamised high-roads such marches as those made by the Yorkists and Lancastrians on that 3rd of May, 1471, would be looked upon as worthy feats; but when we consider the terrible condition of the king's highways in the Middle Ages[1] and the deficiencies in commissariat arrangements, we are filled with admiration for our countrymen and their leaders.

There is a tradition that Queen Margaret slept at Olepen on her way to Tewkesbury, but it can have no foundation. It probably arose from the fact that an interesting letter from Prince Edward, dated Weymouth, April 13th, and summoning John Daunt to his aid, is preserved at Olepen Manor-house. But as the Daunts only came into possession of Olepen a hundred years after these events, by marriage with the heiress of the Oulepennes, it is evident that the letter was addressed to John Daunt at some other home, perhaps at Wotton-under-Edge, where they were settled in the tenth century.

I will now endeavour to describe the position in which the Lancastrians determined to await their pursuers.

Fleetwood's MS. tells us that "they pight them in a fielde (*i.e.* pitched their camp) in a close even at the towne's ende; the towne and abbey at theyre backs; afore them and upon every hand of them fowle lanes and depe dikes, and many hedges, with hills and valleys, a right evill place to approche as coulde well have bene devysed."[2]

They had the choice of (1) selecting the strongest position they could find on the Gloucester and Tewkesbury road, and

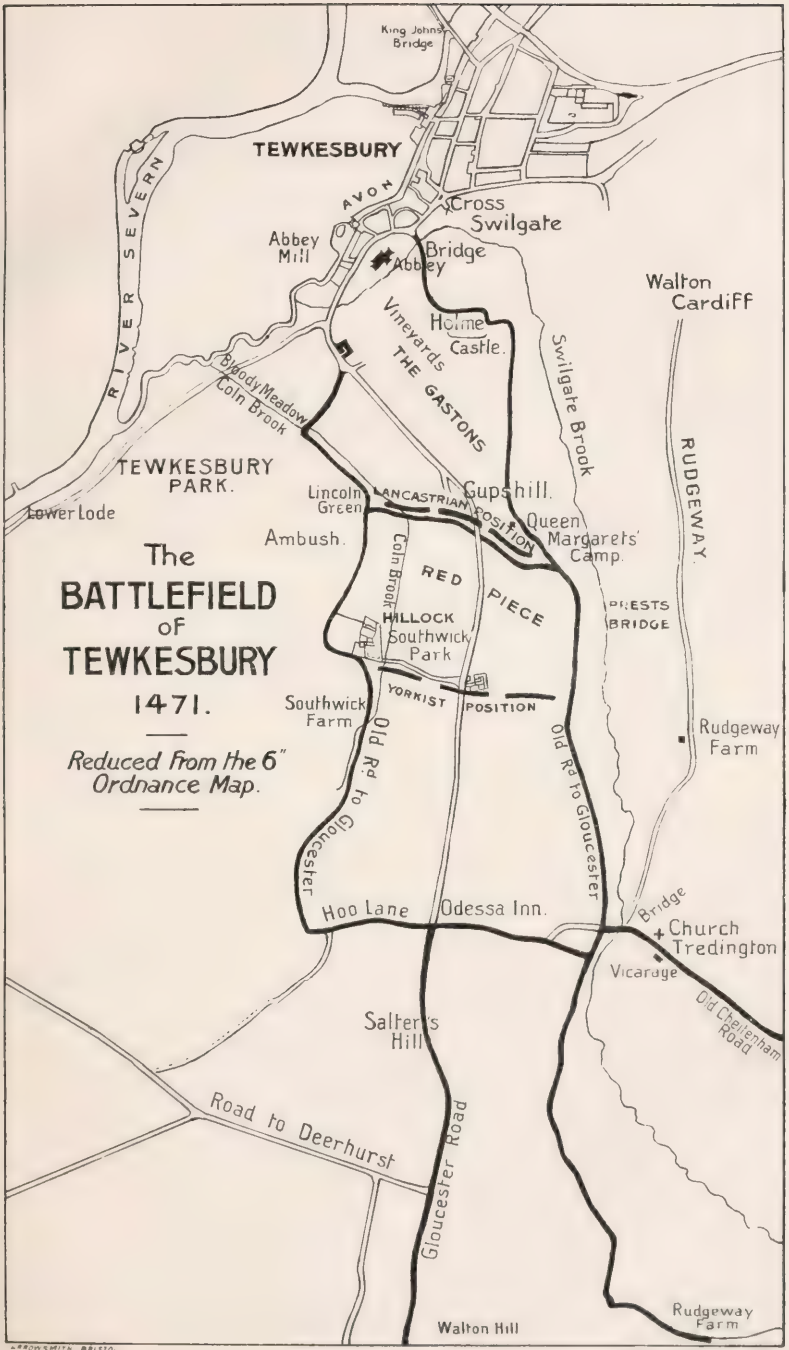
[1] The Road Act of 1722 speaks of the Tewkesbury roads as being even then ruinous and almost impassable.

[2] Fleetwood's *Chronicler*, p. 28.

fortifying it as well as they could with the time and means at their disposal; (2) attempting to cross the Severn at the Lower or Upper Lode; or (3) crossing the Avon by the bridge which spanned both branches a little below the parting, and a little above the junction of one branch with the Severn.

The real reason why they adopted the first plan seems to have been that their men were utterly worn out, after a long day's march, and refused to go any further. But it would have been a perilous attempt, and one which would have exposed the rear of the army to destruction, to cross a broad river like the Severn by a ford or a ferry, with a powerful foe close upon them. Again, had they marched through Tewkesbury, crossed the Avon by the ancient bridge and taken up their position on the Mythe, they would have given Edward possession of the town; and he would, by crossing the Lower Lode, have been enabled to intercept the men and supplies that Jasper Tudor was bringing to the Queen. It seems very probable that, in these circumstances, the Lancastrians made the wisest choice in occupying a position which had many natural advantages, and which Edward would have found very difficult to storm had his foes remained on the defensive. Moreover, if they were driven back they could retire to a still stronger position within the town across the Swillgate.

In order that we may be able to picture to our minds the battle-field of Tewkesbury, we must strike out from the ordnance map all the present high-road from the Odessa Inn, at the second milestone from Tewkesbury, to the lodge of the Tewkesbury Workhouse. This part, which runs through the centre of the Lancastrian position near Gupshill, certainly did not exist when the battle was fought. The words of the chronicler, "In a close even at the towne's ende," can only mean in the large field, then undivided, called the Gastons, which extended from the Vineyards on the south of Holme Castle to the cross-road in front of Gupshill and "Queen Margaret's Camp." The Lancastrians faced due south, with this road, deeply cut and in many places defended by high banks in front of them, the




Face Page 182

Swillgate on their left, and the Coln on their right. They thus commanded the road to Tewkesbury, and could attack in flank a foe attempting to seize the Lower Lode.

The chronicler speaks of their "filde" as "strongly in a marvaylows strong grownd pyght, full difficult to be assayled."

The small five-sided enclosure, about thirty-five yards across, with a ditch and mound, which has been for a long time known as Queen Margaret's Camp, would have been useless as part of the defence of the Lancastrian position. It would have been a death-trap for the defenders in case the outworks were taken. It may, however, have been an outpost of Holme Castle constructed in early times, or it may simply be a memorial of the battle where most of the Lancastrians fell and were buried. An investigation with spade and crow-bar might possibly throw light on its origin; and permission has been obtained.

The Lancastrians, when they took up this position on the evening of the 3rd of May, 1471, were too fatigued to do much in adding artificially to its natural strength; but it would have been folly indeed not to have constructed, however hastily, across the ridge—the most assailable point—a ditch, bank, and high stockade.

This done, they were drawn up in line facing the advancing foe. The Duke of Somerset and his brother, Lord John Beaufort, who, commanding the "vawarde," would naturally be stationed on the right, and hold the ground which lay between Gupshill and Lincoln Green. Prince Edward, son of Henry VI., the Prior of St. John, and Lord Wenlock, who commanded the centre, would occupy the ridge, and would protect the Queen, who probably slept (if gentle sleep visited her at all that night) at Gupshill Farm.

The half-timbered part of this interesting dwelling is certainly as old as 1471. Two seventeenth century gables bear the initials F.I., a fleur de lys and the date 1665. Windows of a comparatively modern style were inserted

during the eighteenth century. The house is now divided into several tenements. The estate was held of the Earl of Gloucester in the time of Edward I. by a family called Conquest, and was described as Gopishull, within the Manor of Tewkesbury. In the reign of Charles I. it was held by Ralph Cotton.

The Earl of Devon had charge of the rearward, which formed the left wing and extended as far as the Swillgate, commanding the high-road from Tredington to Tewkesbury.[1]

On Saturday morning, May 4th, Edward broke up his camp at Tredington and advanced to attack his foes.

Bennett, in his *History of Tewkesbury*, p. 38, says that he marched along the Rudgeway, crossed the Swillgate[2] by Prest Bridge, and occupied the ground to the southward called the Red Piece.

But it would have been a rash proceeding to attempt the crossing of a deep brook where it was spanned merely by a little wooden foot-bridge within a quarter of a mile of the enemy's front. More probably he crossed the Swillbrook at Tredington, where there appears to have been a bridge from early times, and made Tredington and Hoo Lane, along which runs the municipal boundary of Tewkesbury, his base of operation.

As the chronicler tells us, Edward "apparailed hymselfe, and all his hoost set in good array; ordeined three wards, displayed his bannars; dyd blowe up the trompets; commytted his caws and qwarell to Almyghty God, to owr most blessed lady His Mothar, Vyrgyn Mary, the glorious Martyr Seint George and all the Saynts, and avaunced, directly upon his enemyes."

The vaward, or van, was "in the rule" of Richard

[1] Barrett, in his account of the battle, misled by his ignorance of the cross-road, is forced to reverse the usual military practice of the Middle Ages and place Somerset on the Lancastrian left. As will be seen, this involves him in many difficulties.

[2] Leland says: "Ther is a litle broke caullid Suliet cumming downe from Clive, and enterith into Avon at Holme Castelle by the lifte ripe of it. This at sodayn raynes is a very wylde brooke, and is fedde with water faulling from the hilles therby."—*Itin.* vi., q.n., ed. 1769.

*Face page 184.*

GUPSHILL.

GUPSHILL.

Duke of Gloucester, brother of the King, at that time only nineteen years of age, but already a skilled and brave leader. Edward in person and his younger brother, George Duke of Clarence, commanded the centre, and Thomas Gray, Marquis of Dorset, stepson of the King, and William Lord Hastings, who had fought bravely for Edward at Towton and Barnet, were in charge of the rear.

The King seems to have taken up his position about half a mile south of Gupshill, on the site of the drive to "Southwick Park" from the present highway. He had on his left a hillock, and in front of him a large field or close now called the Red Piece. The chronicler says that "whan the Kynge was comyn afore theyr fielde, or he set upon them, he consydered that, *upon the right hand of theyr field there was a parke*, and therein moche wood, and he thinkynge to purvey a remedye in caace his sayd enemyes had layed any bushement in that wood, of horsemen he chose out of his fellashyppe iij^c speres, and set them in a plomp, togethars, nere a qwartar of a myle from the fielde, gyvenge them charge to have good eye upon that cornar of the woode, if caas that eny nede were, and to put them in devowre and if they saw none suche, as they thowght most behovfull for tyme and space, to employ themselfe in the best wyse as they cowlde."

Somerset's neglect in failing to occupy Tewkesbury Park[1] was a proof of his bad generalship, and hastened the disaster which he invited by his subsequent conduct.

Barrett overlooks the statement of the chronicler that "the parke" was on the Lancastrian *right*, and places it on their left. The ambush he lays in Queen Margaret's Camp itself.[2]

[1] Leland speaks of the Parke of Theokesbyri as standing on the left bank of Severn. "The maner-place, he says, in Theokesbyri Park with the Parke was lette by Henry VII. to the Abbot of Theokesbyri." "There is a parke bytwixt the old plotte of Holme Castle and Deerhurst but it longgid to Holme, the Erles of Glocesters house, and not to it (Deerhurst)." He also says, "Ther is a fair maner-place of tymbre and stone yn this Theokesbyri Parke, wher the Lord Edward Spensar lay, and late my Lady Mary."—Leland, vi. 75, ed. 1769.

[2] Barrett's *Battlefields of England*, p. 206.

It would appear that soon after the destruction of Holme Castle, early in the fourteenth century, the Earls of Gloucester constructed for their own use a manor-house in their park on a delightful eminence looking down on the Lower Lode. In the seventeenth century this was the property of the Pophams, and they and their descendants possessed it until early in the nineteenth century.

Shakespere in his *Henry VI.*[1] gives us the speeches of Queen Margaret, Prince Edward and the King, but they are purely imaginary. John de Vere, the Earl of Oxford, whom he mentions, was certainly not present. After the battle of Barnet, where he was partly responsible for the Lancastrian defeat, he fled to Jasper Tudor in Wales, and he was probably advancing with him to join the Queen at this time. Later on he fled into Cornwall, and for a time held St. Michael's Mount against King Edward.

The battle began with an exchange of gunshot and arrows. The Lancastrians, owing to the loss of part of their artillery on the march from Gloucester to Tewkesbury, seem to have suffered some losses; but all might have gone well but for the rashness and impetuosity of Somerset. The chronicler tells us that he "knyghtly and manly avaunsyd hymselfe with his fellowshipe somewhat asyde-hand the Kyngs vawarde, and, by certayne pathes and wayes therefore afore purveyed, and to the Kyng's party unknowne, he departed out of the field, passyd a lane,[2] and came into a fayre place or cloos even afore the Kynge where he was embatteled, and from the hill that was in that one of the closes, he set right fiercely upon th' end of the Kyng's battayle."

Holinshed, who uses our chronicler freely, is responsible for the statement repeated by all writers on the battle that the Duke of Gloucester, unable to force the Lancastrian lines or come to hand-to-hand blows with them, made a feint of retreat in order to tempt Somerset from his strong position,[3] and that the Duke fell into the trap; but the words

[1] Part iii., scenes v. and vi.

[2] Probably the green lane between the lodge of Southwick Park and Lincoln Green.

[3] See *Habington in Kennet*, i., 452.

*Face page 186.*

BATTLE OF TEWKESBURY.

"therefore afore purveyed" would seem to suggest that this flank attack of Somerset on the Yorkists was part of a strategical movement carefully thought out beforehand. In any case it proved to be a very disastrous one, for the King appears to have crossed the brook which I have called the Coln and, supported by Gloucester, to have attacked Somerset in the close at the foot of the hillock, defeated him, and driven him in disorder up towards his original position.

Between Gupshill and Southwick there is a deep depression of the ground which is exactly described by the chronicler, who certainly must have been an eye-witness.

In the meanwhile the two hundred spearmen, seeing no sign of a Lancastrian ambuscade in the park, and hearing the sounds of martial strife, hastened to the support of their King and attacked Somerset in flank.

Having already more than they could do to resist the onslaught of the King and Gloucester, and not knowing what might be the strength of the new assailants, the Lancastrians "were gretly dismaied and abasshed and so toke to flyght into the parke and into the medowe that was nere, and into lanes and dykes where they best hopyd to escape the dangar; of whom netheles many were distressed, taken and slayne."

This plainly shows us that the fugitives who were slain in the "Bloody Meadow," in their attempt to reach the Lower Lode and escape into Malvern Chase, belonged to the right wing of the Lancastrian army under Somerset. Probably the left wing of the Yorkists was employed in completing their rout.

Some of those who have written on the battle tell us that when Somerset re-entered the Lancastrian lines somewhere near Gupshill, he upbraided Lord Wenlock who was conjointly in command of the centre for his inactivity and cowardice in failing to come to his help in the Red Piece;[1] and that he dashed out his brains with his battle-axe.[2]

[1] Nos. 34 and 40 on the tithe map are called Far Red Close and Red Close.

[2] *Habington in Kennet*, i., 452.

During the commotion caused by this fatal act of violence King Edward, accompanied by Gloucester, forced his way into the entrenchments and attacked the young Prince and quickly put him and his following to discomfiture and flight. These being cut off from the Severn by the Yorkist left, succeeded, many of them, in crossing the Swillbrook and reaching the Ham, but they were overtaken by their pursuer near the Abbey Mill and were either slain with the sword or drowned in the mill dam. Then the victorious King would seem to have attacked the Lancastrian left, and finding them disheartened and in confusion, easily drove them through the Gastons, down the Vineyards, past the ruins of Holme Castle, into the town.

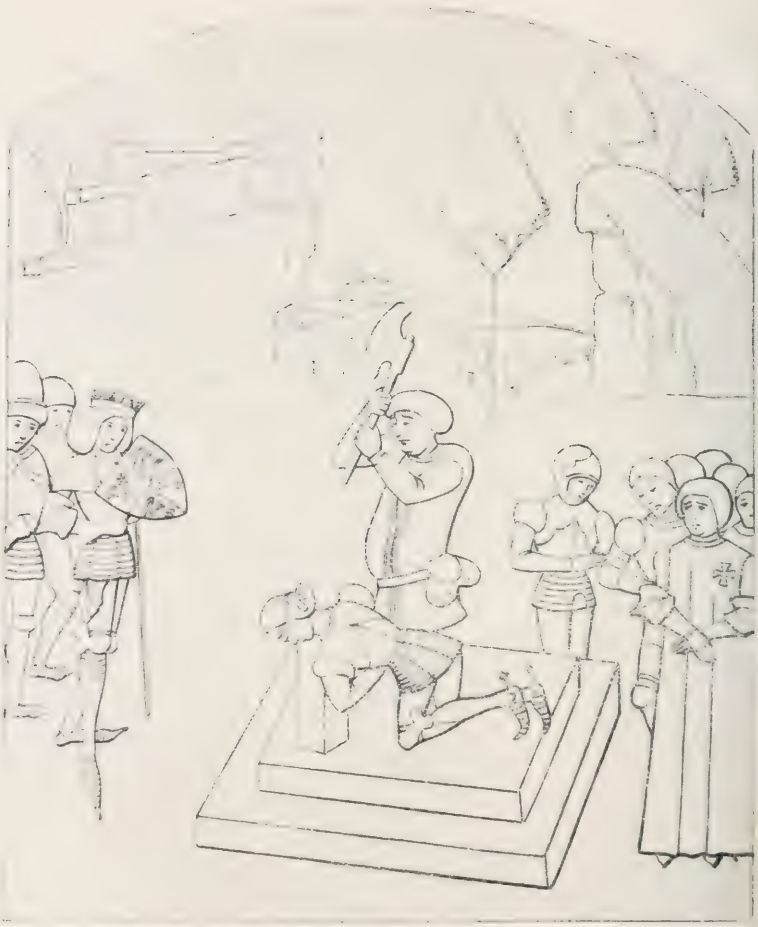
Amongst the leaders who were slain on the field were the Earl of Devon, Lord John Beaufort, Lord Wenlock, Sir John Delves, Sir Edmund Havarde, Sir William Yarmouth, Sir John Lukenor, Sir William Rous, Sir Thomas Seymour, Sir John Urman, Sir William Vaux, Sir (?) William Whittingham, and the following squires:—Henry Barrow, William Fielding, and Thomas Harvey, Recorder of Bristol. In an account of the battle drawn up apparently by the King's command and sent to Charles the Bold (now preserved in the public library at Ghent) several of these are omitted, whilst additional names appear as slain on the field.[1] The total number is said to have been one thousand.

The Duke of Somerset, the Prior of St. John, and many others who had escaped from the battlefield, sought the protection of Abbot Streynsham in the abbey church, whither, Leland tells us, they were followed by the King with drawn sword; but a priest, holding aloft the Host, forbad his defiling the sacred edifice with blood.[2]

[1] See Leland's "Itinerary," *B. and G. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, xiv. 275, "Nomina occisorum in bello Gastiensi prope Theokesbyri."

The outline drawings of the battle of Tewkesbury and the execution of Somerset have been reproduced from *Archæologia*, vol. xxi. by the kind permission of the Society of Antiquaries. They were copied from illuminated miniatures in the fifteenth-century Ghent MS.

[2] See Warkworth's *Chronicle*, Camden Soc., p. 18.



*Face page 189.*

EXECUTION OF THE DUKE OF SOMERSET
AT THE CROSS, TEWKESBURY.

Our chronicler tells us that "the Kynge toke the right way to th' abbey there, to gyve unto Almyty God lawde and thanke for the vyctorye, that, of His mercy, He had that day grauntyd and gyven unto hym; where he was receyvyd with procession, and so convayed thrwghe the Churche, and the qwere, to the hy awtere, with grete devocion praysenge God and yeldynge unto Hym convenient lawde. And when there were fledd into the sayd churche many of his rebels in great nombar . . . or moo, hopynge there to have bene relevyd and savyd from bodyly harme, he gave them all his fre pardon albe it there ne was, ne had not at any tyme bene grauntyd any fraunchise to that place for any offendars agaynst theyr prince havynge recowrse thethar." If the abbey had been granted the right of sanctuary, the right did not cover the crime of treason. Our chronicler, moreover, says that Edward granted permission to the servants and friends of Prince Edward to bury him and the others slain with him in the battlefield in the abbey church, or wheresoever they pleased, "without any qwarteryng or defoulyng their bodies by settying upe at any opne place."

A day or two later, however, the Ghent manuscript says on the 6th (Warkworth says on Monday), such of the leaders as were found in the abbey or in the houses of the citizens were brought before a court-martial consisting of the Duke of Gloucester, Constable of England, and the Duke of Norfolk, Marshal of England, and, being found guilty of treason, were sentenced to be beheaded. This sentence was carried out at the Cross, but the bodies were not dismembered or exposed on the gates of the town or elsewhere, but were allowed honourable burial.

The names of those who thus perished by the executioner's axe were the Duke of Somerset, Sir Humfrey Handeley, Audley or Hadley, the Prior of St. John, Sir Gervase Clifton, Sir William Cary, Sir Henry Ross, Sir Thomas Tresham, Sir William Newburgh, and many gentlemen of good family and position. Leland adds that the King spared the lives of Sir John Fortescue, Chief Justice of

England, Doctor Mackerell, John Throckmorton, Baynton, Wroughton and others. Sir William Grimsby also was pardoned. Sir Hugh Courteney appears to have been captured later on and beheaded.

The slaughter of the fugitive Lancastrians did not, however, cease with the battle, or with the execution of the leaders at Tewkesbury Cross.

The Register of John Carpenter, Bishop of Worcester, shows that several churches and churchyards in his diocese were desecrated at this time by blood-shedding, and had to be "reconciled."

The abbey church of Tewkesbury was re-dedicated on account of its pollution with the sword after the battle—a fact which militates against the truth of the statement that Edward gave those who had taken refuge there free pardon.

At Didbrook, near Winchcomb, several Lancastrians were ruthlessly put to death in cold blood within the sacred walls of the parish church, and so horrible did this sacrilege appear to the rector, William Wytchurch, Abbot of Hayles, that he rebuilt the church at his own expense.[1]

Our chronicler tells us that on the 7th of May, when the executions of the Lancastrian leaders had taken place, Edward IV. left Tewkesbury for Worcester, and on the way news was brought to him that Queen Margaret had been found not far from where he was in "a powre religiows place," where she had hidden herself for safety early on Saturday morning after Prince Edward had taken up his position in the line of battle. Tradition says that the Queen crossed the Lower Lode and awaited the result of the battle at a house on the road from Tewkesbury to Bushley called Payne's Place.

The Rev. E. R. Dowdeswell, President of this Society in 1902, writing in 1877, says: "The Queen's room is still

[1] In the east window of the chancel are the remains of the following inscription: "Orate pro a'i'a Wyll'i Wytchyrche qui hoc templum fundavit cum cancello."

to be seen in Payne's Place in which Queen Margaret slept after the disastrous day at Tewkesbury."[1] On the day following the battle, Sunday, May 5th, when all the terrible details of the Lancastrian defeat had been told her, she fled, perhaps to Little Malvern Priory, under the shadow of the Hereford Beacon, or it may be to some "powrer religiows place" which has long since been destroyed and forgotten. Two days later Edward was assured that "she shud be at his commaundment," and by his orders Sir William Stanley conducted the bereaved Queen to him at Coventry, where he tarried from the 12th to the 16th of May.[2]

On the 21st she was compelled to grace the king's triumphal entry into London, and was then committed to the Tower, where her royal consort was a prisoner. Two days, some say a few hours later, it was told her that she was a widow as well as childless. She was detained a prisoner in different fortresses in England until November, 13th, 1475, when a ransom of fifty thousand pounds was paid by her father, and she returned to her old home in France. On the 25th of August, 1480, she breathed her last in the Château of Dampierre, at the age of fifty-two.

* * * * *

With regard to most of the particulars I have given, there is little disagreement amongst the chroniclers; but the same cannot be said of what they tell us with regard to the fate of the young Prince Edward.

In this respect they are divided into two hostile camps. Those who had Lancastrian sympathies and wrote during the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. declare that the unhappy Prince was murdered in cold blood as a prisoner; and Polydore Vergil, whose *History* was printed in 1534, does not hesitate to accuse Edward IV. and his two brothers of

[1] Barett, *Almanack and Year Book for 1877.*

[2] Warkworth tells us that the following ladies were also taken prisoners:—The young wife of Prince Edward, the Countess of Devon, and Dame Kateryne Vaux.

the murder. The chroniclers who were contemporary with Edward IV. and Richard III. declare that Prince Edward was slain on the field of battle. The commonly received account is that he was taken prisoner by Sir Richard Crofts; and on the King issuing a proclamation that the person who produced him should receive a pension of £100, and that the Prince's life should be spared, he was brought into the royal presence. Then followed the scene which Shakespeare has immortalized: The King having haughtily inquired how he dared invade his dominions and stir up his subjects to rebellion was as haughtily answered by the lad that he came to rescue a father from prison, and regain a crown which had been usurped, whereupon the King struck him with his gauntlet, and Gloucester, Clarence, Dorset, and Hastings hurried him away from the King's presence and despatched him with their poignards.

Local tradition, which probably owes its existence to these Tudor chroniclers, points out a shop in High Street near the Tolsey where the cruel deed was done; but it is more likely that the King occupied the beautiful house at the Cross restored by the late Mr. Tom Collins.

On the other hand, our chronicler says, "In the wynnynge of the fielde such as abode hand-stroks were slayne incontinent; Edward called Prince, was taken, fleinge to the townewards, and slayne in the field."

Warkworth[1] says: "And ther was slayne in the fielde Prynce Edward, whiche cryede for socoure to his brother-in-lawe, the Duke of Clarence."

De Commines says: "And the Prince of Wales, several other great lords, and a great number of common soldiers were killed on the spot."[2]

Leland, writing as late as 1540, says: "Edwardus Princeps venit cum exercitu ad Theokesbyri et intravit campum nomine Gastum .... ibi occisus."

The body of the young prince is said to have been buried in the choir, and an inscription written by the Rev. Robert

[1] P. 18. [2] Bohn, Ed., i. 202.

Knight, vicar of Tewkesbury, was engraved on a brass plate: "Ne tota pereat memoria Edwardi Principis Walliae, post prælium memorabile in vicinis arvis depugnatum crudeliter occisi; hanc tabulam honorariam deponi curavit pietas Tewksburiensis, Anno Domini, MDCCXCVI."

What became of this I know not, but at the present time the following inscription, written by my old friend the late Mr. J. D. T. Niblett, marks the supposed site of the Prince's grave:—"Edward Prince of Wales slain at Tewkesbury, 1471. Hic jacet Edwardus princeps Walliae crudeliter interfectus dum adhuc juvenis Anno Domini 1471, mense maii die quarto. Eheu hominum furor. Matris tu sola lux es, et gregis ultima spes."

With regard to the Lancastrian leaders:—Somerset, his brother John, the Earl of Devon, and Sir Humphry Audley were buried before the image of St. James, near the altar of St. Mary Magdalen; Sir Edmund Havarde, Sir William Wittingham, and Sir John Leukenor were buried in St. John's Chapel; Sir William Vaux was buried before an image of Our Lady on the north side; Sir John Tresham was buried between the altars of St. James and St. Nicholas, and many others were laid in the churchyard.[1]

[1] I would acknowledge my indebtedness to an able paper on the battle of Tewkesbury in Richard Brooke's *Visits to Fields of Battle in England*, 1857.

I also have to thank Mr. F. W. Godfrey, junior, for the photographs of Gupshill Farm and for much kind help in my frequent examinations of the battlefield..

# Notices of Publications.

ST. ALDHELM: HIS LIFE AND TIMES. By the Right Rev. G. F. BROWNE, D.D., D.C.L., F.S.A., Bishop of Bristol. London: SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE. 1903.

This book consists of a series of lectures delivered in Bristol Cathedral during Lent, 1903; and whatever the citizens of Bristol may have thought of the choice of the local saint of a small borough in the *ultima Thule* of their diocese as the central figure of their Church Congress banner, there is no doubt that the Bishop has written a very interesting book on a most delightful personality, and has given a really helpful account of that phase of early English church history in which the old Celtic influence blended happily with the Saxon Church, which—decidedly to its own benefit—assimilated and absorbed it. The fact that the Bishop writes with much assurance concerning points which have been regarded as at least doubtful, in no way detracts from the interest of his work. As he tells the story of Malmesbury, Maildubh, a Scottish monk from Lismore, settled there about half a century after the battle of Dyrham, probably as a fugitive from a monastic row in Ireland, much as St. Wilfrid found Dicul settled in the Sussex woodlands half a century later. These Scottish monks seem to have been students rather than missionaries, and when Maildubh had been settled in his new home some fifteen or twenty years, Aldhelm, a member of the royal family of Wessex, was placed under his care. The lad grew unto a man, and studied for some years under Abbot Hadrian at Canterbury. He succeeded Maildubh as head of his house, and ruled for thirty years as Abbot of Malmesbury, and finally in a ripe old age he worked out five years of strenuous toil as first Bishop of Sherborne. So the old order passed peacefully into the new, and the great church at Malmesbury is for us a living link with the church of St. Patrick and St. Columba. Some forms of the place-name, such as Meldumesburgh, seem to draw their origin from Meldun or Maildubh: others, such as Ealdelmesbyrig, from St. Aldhelm. The Bishop seems to incline, by comprehension rather than compromise, to Mallemsbury, Mallem being presumed to be a pet title—"My dear Aldhelm"—applied by the teacher to the disciple. St. Aldhelm, as the Bishop presents him, stands before us as a sincere, lovable and earnest character, and there is

every reason for thinking that the picture is truly drawn. We see him as an abbot providing for the endowment of his minster, and caring for the interests of his three churches of Malmesbury, Frome and Bradford-on-Avon. As a teacher of the people we find him sitting on the bridge at Malmesbury, and with the quaint shrewdness which the pages of Bede show was so strong a feature in the old English character, singing his hearers on to thoughts of higher things. As a writer he was voluminous and pompous, dignified in his treatment of sacred subjects, and yet, as his riddles prove to us, capable of light and playful verse. Of the crown of his life work, his four years' episcopate, we need no better description than that of Bede, "*Strenuissime præfuit.*"

We find in St. Aldhelm all the marks of the character of a great Englishman, one whom any man might be proud to honour and obey, who as a pioneer and founder of an infant church would lay its foundations broad and deep; and the Bishop of Bristol has done excellent service in bringing his character so clearly before us. A man who could compose a song and set it to music, and then either sing it or recite it—as King Alfred tells us St. Aldhelm could do—would be welcome in any company.

In the sixty pages on Christian art in Wessex the Bishop is on his own ground, and what he says will show how greatly mistaken are folk who think that before the coming of the Normans our forefathers were ignorant and uncouth. The account is specially interesting to us in this part of England, for there are twelve pictures of sculptured stones from Gloucestershire, Wilts and Somerset. Some, such as those at Bradford-on-Avon, Bath, Colerne and Littleton Drew, the Bishop thinks, were probably portions of crosses set up at places where St. Aldhelm's body rested on its journey from Doulting, where he died, to his burial-place at Malmesbury. The cross at Rowberrow probably marked a preaching station, for it stood near the point where the very ancient road from Bristol to Cross was intersected by the road along Mendip from Uphill to Old Sarum. The Bishop thinks that the dragons on these old crosses "represent the old serpent defeated by the power of the Cross and tied and bound by means of its own self."

Those of us who have seen the noble altar in the basilica of St. Ambrogio at Milan will be interested in the Bishop's suggestion—by no means an unlikely one—that Wolvinus who wrought it was really Wulfwine, a West Saxon. But though we may follow the Bishop in thinking that Æthelmær and Adelwold, whose names appear on Drahmal's beautiful cross at Brussels, were the Ealdorman of Hampshire who died in 982, and the Bishop of Winchester who died in 984, it seems impossible that the Ælfric for whom it was wrought was the one who was banished in 985, for this Ælfric was the son of that Ælfhere who drove the monks

from the Huiccian minsters after the death of King Edgar; he was himself a robber of churches, and was banished for his iniquities.[1] There was quite an embarrassing multitude of Ælfrics at that time, and it is to be hoped that in his next edition the Bishop will have found a less unsavoury object for the fashioning of Drahmal's cross.

The Bishop's identification of Bugge, for whom St. Aldhelm composed a dedicatory ode on the occasion of the consecration of a basilica which she had built, with Bucga the daughter of Dunne, Abbess of Withington, is very interesting locally, and deserves careful consideration. Bugge was the daughter of Centwine, who reigned over the West Saxons 676—685, and her basilica was dedicated between the accession of Ine to the throne of the West Saxons in 688 and the death of St. Aldhelm in 709. The story of the foundation of the monastery at Withington is given in the decree of a synod held about 737, at which Nothelm, Archbishop of Canterbury, and five bishops were present.[2] It is recited that Ethelred, King of the Mercians, at the request of the Subregulus Oshere, granted twenty cassates at Withington to Dunne and her daughter Bucga for the foundation of a minster. Nothing more is heard of Bucga in connection with this minster, but Dunne on her death-bed left it to her granddaughter Hrotwari; but because she was of tender years Dunne entrusted the care of the minster and the trust-deeds of the estate to the child's mother, who when her child came to full age refused to give up possession of them till she was ordered to do so by a synod about 736, which decreed that Hrotwari should hold the minster for her life, and that it should then revert to the cathedral at Worcester.[3] By 774 the estate had fallen into the hands of the bishop, who granted it for life to the Abbess Æthelburga. The grant states that Dunne had left it to Hrotwari with the knowledge and consent of St. Ecgwin, Bishop of Worcester, and that Hrotwari had surrendered it to the bishop.[4] Besides the two ladies named Bugge or Bucga, mentioned by the Bishop, Bucga, the wife of the thegn Ridda, appears in 772 as the recipient of a grant of Evenlode from King Offa for the three lives of Ridda, Bucga, and their daughter Heburg, with reversion to Bredon.[5] We see then with regard to the minster of Bugge, daughter of Centwine, that there is no evidence that Dunne was the wife of Centwine, or that Bucga, daughter of Dunne, ever ruled over the minster at Withington during the life of St. Aldhelm. Indeed, if we think, as is likely, that the synod of 736 took cognisance of the misconduct of Hrotwari's guardian soon after she came of age, Hrotwari cannot have been born for some years after St. Aldhelm's death in 709, though she must have been born before the death of St. Ecgwin in 717,

1 Freeman, *N. C.*, i. 639. 2 K. C. D., lxxxii.; C. S., 156; Thorpe, *Dipl.*, 23.
3 K. C. D., lxxxii.; C. S., 156. 4 K. C. D., cxxiv.; C. S., 217.
5 K. C. D., cxx.; C. S., 209, 210.

and Dunne clearly presided over the Withington minster till she died. We see therefore that it is not possible that Bucga, the daughter of Dunne, can have controlled the minster at Withington during the life of St. Aldhelm. It is, however, possible that Bucga, wife of Ridda, was the daughter of Dunne. It is worth noting in connection with this quarrel that the Abbess Æthelburga was a kinswoman of Alfred and of Æthelheard, son of Oshere, at whose request the minster had been founded.[1]

There is room for a few corrections. Beverstone was not a seat of Godwin as Earl of Wessex; it was a member of the great Berkeley estate, and had come into the possession of the Earl by his invasion of the rights of the religious in the minster there.[2] It formed a convenient trysting place for Earl Godwin's forces in 1051, because it lay near the Ridgeway, and on an old road by Long-tree Barn from Cirencester where Akeman Street, Ermine Street, and the Fosse-way meet. It is not easy to see in what way it is difficult for the Bishop of Bristol to find a Lord Lieutenant to act with him. Bristol is not a newly-revived see; it has existed with its own independent consistory court ever since 1542, and there has been a Lord Lieutenant of Bristol for three centuries. When it is said that the town of Bristol petitioned to be made a county in the time of Edward *I.* this is of course a misprint for *III.* Again, when we are told that it was only by the Charter of Henry VIII. that Bristol became and is a city, many people will find this a hard saying. Gloucester was a *civitas* in Domesday, and so was Shrewsbury; Bath was a *burgus*, and Wells a mere estate. In truth, this idea that a place cannot be a city unless it is the seat of a bishop is a piece of mediævalism which has happily been rooted out of late years by the creation of several of the great boroughs, such as Birmingham and Leeds, into cities. The Bishop ought to have given his authority for the statement in the footnote on page 35 that Bristol about 1140 was a mart for slaves. The biographer of St. Wulfstan, who died in 1096, tells us distinctly that in consequence of the bishop's preaching the townsmen gave up their evil practice. What evidence is there that it had been revived? The statement on page 103 that St. Peter's at Rome was like the other greatest basilica, St. Paul's, outside the wall is misleading, for the greatest of all the churches in Western Christendom, the Lateran basilica of St. Saviour and St. John Baptist, is within the wall of Aurelian. The present Lambeth librarian is not in Holy Orders. Many people will think that a considerable amount of anti-Roman polemic might well have been omitted from a book of this kind. Still, these are for the most part comparatively small matters, which do not lie very close to the main subject of the book. The Bishop has given a very readable account of one of the most genial and loveable characters in English church history,

[1] K. C. D., cxlvi.; C. S., 238; *Trans.*, xx. 285 [2] D. B., f. 164.

and has also given a living picture of the church life of the time; we can realise the thoughts and ideas and methods of working of the men and women who founded the Church of England. And if it seems to us that Malmesbury is nearer to the centre of all things than we had supposed, and that folk came from everywhere and did everything there or thereabouts, this rather adds to the interest of the book. The illustrations are wisely chosen and well executed, and there is a satisfactory index.

ROMAN ROADS IN BRITAIN. By THOMAS CODRINGTON, M.Inst.C.E., F.G.S. London: SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE. 1903.

This little book of some 400 pages will be of great interest and of very considerable value to those who are interested in the ancient roads of the country. It includes one road, to near Perth, north of the wall of Antoninus, and extends as far as Exeter to the south-west, and within those limits it gives a really good account of the ancient trackways over the land. It may be said at the outset that the writer does not attempt to distinguish between roads which were made *de novo* by the Romans and those which they adopted and no doubt improved; it is enough for him that a road was used and constructed—or re-constructed—by the Romans. For instance, the road along the top of Mendip to Uphill is for him a Roman road, but it must have existed as a trackway in very much earlier times, when the flints which are found so abundantly in Banwell Camp were brought along it from Warminster, before bronze or iron utensils were known here. Again, he is clear that there was no one method of preparing and constructing the roadway used by the Romans, the structure would depend on the best materials which could be obtained in the district. The description of pavement given by Vitruvius, which is sometimes quoted in this connection, refers rather to pavements in connection with architectural works. The chief work of destruction with regard to the paving of the Roman ways occurred about a century ago, when they were destroyed to provide materials for turnpike roads which were constructed on or near them; but the old paving may still be found, as in several places in the Forest of Dean. A careful reprint of the text of the Itinerary of Antonine is given, and will be found to be very useful, as it is free from the emendations which obscure the texts now usually accessible. A comparison of the stations of Antonine along the Watling Street between Dover and Wroxeter—*Uriconium*—gives 220 *millia passuum* as corresponding to 220 statute miles, and the greatest difference between the intermediate stations does not exceed two miles in the twenty-nine miles which lie between

Rochester and London. It may be taken therefore that the miles of the Itinerary are practically statute miles. The method adopted is to give an account of the course of each great road, or group of roads, separately. Thus for this district the description is carried along the line from London to Silchester and the roads radiating from that place; then the road from Silchester through Speen to Bath and Caerleon is minutely described. Mr. Codrington points out that Wansdyke is certainly later in date than the road, and he clearly inclines to Sea Mills as the site of Abone. The stations on this road seem to be all duly entered, but the Itinerary gives the distance between Speen and Cirencester as only fifteen miles, whereas it is about double that amount; Mr. Codrington therefore proposes to insert a lost station near Wanborough. A very careful and accurate account of the course of the road to Gloucester follows. It is noted that Cirencester does not present the rectangular appearance of a Roman camp, but is rather a British city rebuilt and fortified. It is singular that the Fosse, which on the map looks so direct and appears to be one of the most important of the roads in Britain, is really later in date than any of the roads which it touches, and is, in fact, rather a series of links than a direct road. The Fosse branched off from Erming Street at Brace-bridge, two miles south of Lincoln, and when it reached Watling Street it did not cut directly across it, but left it at a point fifty yards west of that at which it entered from the north. To the north-east of Cirencester it joined Akeman Street before entering the city gate, and the line by which it leaves the town seems to be rather that of an old track by Long-tree Barn to the Severn than a direct road to Bath. Finally, the Fosse does not enter Bath directly, but joins the road from Speen near Batheaston. Thus we seem to have four separate links. From Brace-bridge to Watling Street, from Watling Street to Hare-Bushes, from near Jackment's Bottom to Batheaston, and finally from Bath to the south coast. The road which joins the Fosse at Bourton-on-the-Water, now known locally as Buggilde Street, is shown by Mr. Codrington to be a most important line of communication, extending, under the name of the Riknild Street, through Birmingham and Derby, by Rotherham and Temple Newsam, east of Leeds, to Aldborough-on-the-Ure, fifteen miles from York. It would have been along the line of this road that the bones of King Osric were brought to Gloucester, and also no doubt it marks the line of march of Edwin, King of Northumbria, when he defeated Cuichelm of Wessex in 626. It is not at all unlikely that the scene of this decisive battle, in which five West Saxon kings and a great multitude of people were slain, was near Salmonsbury, which evidently guards the point where Buggilde Street joins the Fosse which leads from Winchester. The villages of Upper and Lower Slaughter lie on the line of Buggilde Street, and as the point where the Fosse crosses the Windrush is called Slehtranford according to Kemble, and Slohtranford

according to Birch, in an original document of 779,[1] the modern names seem to represent the place-name of eleven centuries ago.

Oddly enough, though Mr. Codrington mentions the Saltway as running east from Droitwich for a short distance, he says that its further course cannot be traced; but it crossed the Fosse about a mile south of Northleach and Akeman Street at Coln St. Aldwyn, and it seems strange that he did not notice it in South-east Gloucestershire, where its course is still well marked.

There is a good deal about the somewhat difficult question of the course of the roads to the west of Gloucester, which will be of interest to those who know the country. South of the Bristol Channel, Mr. Codrington places the station *Ischalis* not at Ilchester as is usually done, but at Uphill at the mouth of the Axe, on the strength of the latitudes and longitudes given by Ptolemy compared with those attributed to Bath. These are Bath 53° 40′ N. and 17° 20′ E. of the Canaries, and Ischalis 53° 30′ and 16° 40′ E.; giving differences of 10′ in latitude and 40′ in longitude, the true differences being 4′ and 37′; while the differences between Bath and Ilchester would be much greater in latitude and less in longitude.

In conclusion, Mr. Codrington traces out the development of the Roman lines of communication. Among the earliest were those which radiated from Silchester to the south and west. A pig of lead (which he does not mention) found at Wookey bears a Roman inscription fixing it to the year 49. The whole country as far as Mendip must therefore have been conquered by that time, and there can be no doubt that the roads to Gloucester and Sea Mills were completed before Ostorius attacked the Silures in 51 or 52, and that the fortified stations of Caerwent and Caerleon date from about that time. The cross-road from Stratton St. Margaret to Cirencester was probably later, and the portion of the Fosse north of Leicester was completed by 120, for that date is inscribed on a milliary found three miles north of the town. An useful map of the roads of Britain is given, and sketch-maps of the different roads are inserted in the text; there is also a sufficient index.

ASSER'S LIFE OF KING ALFRED, together with the ANNALS OF SAINT NEOTS. By WILLIAM HENRY STEVENSON, M.A. Oxford: CLARENDON PRESS. 1904.

This book may fitly be classed with two or three others as being really helpful fruits of the interest which was aroused by the Millenary Celebration of King Alfred's death. In the first place Mr. Stevenson gives us a really trustworthy text of Asser so far as it can be ascertained.

[1] K. C. D., cxxxvii.; C. S., 230.

And it is not easy to ascertain it, for the life came down in one copy only, and that was burnt in 1731. Two printed editions were made from this MS., but neither of them is to be trusted implicitly, and they are largely interpolated with extracts from the annals of St. Neots; there are also some transcripts of no higher authority than the editions. It may truly be said, therefore, that it is impossible to reproduce the text which was destroyed in 1731. Fortunately Florence, a monk of Worcester who died in 1118, quoted in his chronicle very largely from Asser, and Mr. Stevenson has printed in ordinary type the quotations found in his chronicle; portions probably authentic, but omitted by Florence, are printed in italics, while interpolated passages appear in smaller type. It is thus possible to determine at a glance the amount of credit which should be paid to any particular passage. A full collection of various readings is given at the foot of the page.

Mr. Stevenson reviews very fully the arguments for and against the authenticity of the work, and concludes that on the whole there is good reason for believing the book to be the work of Asser, a Welsh priest, afterwards Bishop of Sherborne. As Mr. Plummer in his Ford Lectures came to the same conclusion, it may be said that at the present moment the last word of the best English scholars who have gone carefully into the matter is in favour of the work, though it cannot be denied there are considerable difficulties in the way of this conclusion. It is, however, remarkable that Mr. Stevenson passes by two points which tend very strongly to support the theory that the writer of the book lived at the time of the history which he is narrating, the first concerning the age of King Alfred's daughter, Æthelflæd, at the time of her marriage, and the second concerning the hour of the eclipse of 879. In chap. xxix. Asser tells us that in 868 Prince Alfred married a daughter of Æthelred Mucil, Ealdorman of the Gaini. In chap. lxxv. he tells us that Æthelflæd, when the age of marriage was approaching, was united to Ethelred, Ealdorman of the Mercians—*Æthelflæd, adveniente matrimonii tempore, Eadredo, Merciorum comiti, matrimonio copulata est.* The nubile age for women was then as now twelve years, and this passage would seem to fix the date of the marriage of Æthelflæd at about 880. Such early marriages were not at all unusual at the time; King Alfred's step-mother, Judith, cannot have been much more than twelve when King Ethelwulf married her in 856. A Worcester document which appears in two forms in Heming's Chartulary, by which Ealdorman Ethelred granted land at Brightwell and Watlington, bears the name of *Æthelflæd conjux* among the witnesses.[1] Unfortunately while both MSS. give the year as DCCCLXXX., they also give the indiction as V., a number which belongs to 887. Wherefore Thorpe[2] has boldly printed DCCCLXXXVII. in the body of the charter in defiance of

[1] K. C. D., cccxi.; C. S., 547. [2] *Dipl.*, p. 133.

the day was called after the last hour in it. "Nona embraces the seventh, eighth and ninth hours, and the last, called Duodecima, contains the tenth, eleventh and twelfth, ending at sunset." Asser however uses *vespera* for *duodecima*. *Nona* is in fact *noon*, the point when the sun is on the meridian, the beginning of the seventh hour, and *vespera* is the point half-way between noon and sunset, in this case 2.20 mean time and 3.0 natural time. Thus what Asser says is this, that the eclipse was total at a point of time between noon and 1.30 natural time, and we see that the statement is true for any point in England or Wales. All that is said by Mr. Stevenson about Fulda is quite beside the point. If we could be sure that the sentence about the time of the eclipse was written by Asser the priest of Menevia it would be a very strong argument indeed for the genuineness of the book which is called by his name, for it fixes the time of the eclipse correctly to within seventy minutes of mean time.

With regard to other matters, Mr. Stevenson takes the two monasteries granted by King Alfred to Asser to be Banwell and Congresbury rather than Amesbury. The manuscript authority is about equal as between the two last-named places, but it is in favour of Amesbury that it evidently belonged to King Alfred, for it was left in his will to his son Ethelweard, and also that both Banwell and Amesbury lay on the way from South Wales to Winchester. The former is on the ancient road from Uphill to Old Sarum, the latter not far off the road from Old Sarum to Winchester. There was an ancient minster at Frome. From Banwell to Frome, and from Frome to Amesbury would be about twenty-five miles, the distance from Amesbury to Winchester would be rather less, so that Asser could reach Winchester from the Welsh coast by four days' easy travelling. When it is said that nothing is known about Banwell between the death of Asser and the gift to Dudoc it must be remarked that the ignorance is subjective. Banwell is probably the *Banewada* which Cuthred gave to Winchester Cathedral about 750,[1] and as it appears in the possession of the convent in 904 it is likely that King Alfred only held a life interest in it. In the last named year the convent of Winchester gave it to King Edward in part payment for privileges granted to their dependent minster at Taunton.[2] King Edward exchanged Banwell with the minster at Cheddar for land at Carhampton,[3] which minster had been secularised before 941,[4] so that Banwell must have fallen into the king's hands before that time, and it probably remained a royal possession until between 1016 and 1033, when Cnut gave it to Dudoc. There is a good deal of guessing at place-names, but each ought to allow to others the same liberty at that pastime which he claims for himself. But when Mr. Stevenson says,[5] "As there was no genitive plural in [illegible] in old English, it is certain that

[1] *Mon. Angl.*, i. 205. [2] K. C. D., mlxxxiv., C. S., 61[illegible]
[3] K. C. D., dxcviii.; C. S., 1219. [4] C. S., [illegible] [5] p. [illegible]

Gainsborough cannot be derived from the Gaini, and that town was not in Mercia but in Lindsey," it is not easy to go all the way with him. No doubt Gainsborough is in Lindsey, but Lindsey was at this time in Mercia. It is clear also that Ethelred and Ethelflæd had interests in Lindsey, for in 906 they brought the relics of St. Oswald from Bardney to Gloucester. It seems reasonable enough, therefore, to suppose that these interests arose through *Ethelredus Gainorum comes*, who Asser tells us was the grandfather of Ethelflæd. It is not easy to see why the Hecani are brought into the matter, no one mentions them before the Norman Conquest; and granting that *Gainsborough* in its present form cannot meant "the borough of the Gaini," it certainly lies in the district whence a grandchild of Ethelred, Ealdorman of the Gaini, brought the remains of St. Oswald. Mr. Stevenson gives a noteworthy suggestion on section 79. Here Asser says that on his return home from King Alfred he was detained by fever *in Wintonia civitate* for a year and a week without the knowledge of the king. As it is impossible that this could have taken place at Winchester, the statement has been used as an argument against the authenticity of the book. It is suggested, however, that the place intended is Caerwent, and the suggestion is a very plausible one, for Caerwent lies just beyond the ancient crossings from Sea Mills or Aust. And the route by Caerwent would be a very natural one for a traveller from Dean, near Eastbourne in Sussex, to South Wales along the ancient roads through Winchester, Cunetio and Bath.

Asser must have been a difficult book to annotate, for much of the ground has been traversed very frequently, and that which is peculiar to Asser often presents very serious difficulties. The notes are thoughtful and suggestive, and show a wide range of reading. There are also a facsimile of part of the manuscript of Asser which was destroyed in the Cottonian fire, and a very full and well-arranged index.

THE CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY. VOLUME II.—THE REFORMATION. Cambridge: THE UNIVERSITY PRESS. 1903.

A short notice of this great book of some 850 pages must suffice, for indeed only a body of specialists could review it adequately. In the first place it is not what Lord Acton intended it to be; only nine of the nineteen chapters have been written by the authors to whom he assigned them. One result of this is that some writers have undertaken so wide a range of subjects that they cannot possibly rank as eminent authorities on all. The Bishop of Gibraltar, for instance, writes chapters on "The Catholic South" and "The Scandinavian North," but he certainly does not show a specialist's knowledge of the latter subject. Mr. Pollard

writes five out of the nineteen chapters on subjects ranging from Edward VI. to a note on the Reformation in Poland. Another result is that the book presents the appearance of history in isolated bits. Though care has evidently been taken to avoid overlapping and unnecessary repetition, the loss of Lord Acton's control is seen in the absence of any effective grouping of the tendencies of the Reformation and summation of its results as a whole. The chapter on "Medicean Rome," by Professor F. X. Kraus, of Munich, gives an admirable introduction to the period, but there is nothing like it to form a conclusion. The loss of the chapter by Lord Acton on the Council of Trent is irreparable, and is in no way atoned for by two dozen pages in the chapter on "The Church and Reform." The value of this fragment may be estimated from the statement that the Tridentine decrees on doctrine "were accepted throughout the Catholic Church." They were, of course, never accepted by the ancient churches of the East, and they have never been accepted by the Church of England, which is, and has always claimed to be, a true branch of the Catholic Church. If the writer meant the Roman Catholic Church, the *Sancta Romana Ecclesia* of the Tridentine profession, he should have said so. Again, the chapter on "The Anglican Settlement and the Scottish Reformation," by Professor Maitland, and that on "Tendencies of European Thought in the Age of the Reformation," by Dr. Fairbairn, are among the least satisfactory in the book. On the other hand, the chapters on "Medicean Rome," by Professor Kraus, on "Henry VIII.," by Dr. Gairdner, on "Edward VI.," by Mr. Pollard, and on "Philip and Mary," by Mr. J. B. Mullinger, give as excellent an account of the English Reformation for the period which they cover as anyone could wish for. It is much to be regretted that the same cannot be said concerning Dr. Maitland's chapter already mentioned. He does not shine as an ecclesiastical historian, and the chapter is more on the lines of his sketches on *Canon Law in the Church of England*, than on those of his admirable work, *Domesday Book and Beyond*. Apart from its surprises of style, the chapter hardly rises above the level of a magazine article on "The Relations between English and Scottish Protestantism in the reign of Queen Elizabeth." But the English Reformation was not in itself a Protestant movement; what Protestantism there was in it was a foreign thing—"made in Germany" or Switzerland; and though no doubt the clergy who had sojourned in Germany or Switzerland during Queen Mary's reign would gladly have made the English church into an institution of the Genevan type if they could, the Queen, who was her father's own daughter, had seen more than enough of Protestantism during her brother's reign, and compelled conformity to the Prayer Book, which, whatever else may be said about it, is certainly not Protestant. That was the Elizabethan settlement, and it

had not much in common with Scottish Protestantism; the Professor ploughs with an horse and an ox, and his share goes jumpily. Still, the book is a mighty storehouse of facts bearing on the history of the Reformation, and in addition to the chapters already mentioned, those on the "Helvetic Reformation" on one side and on "Luther" on the other, are likely to be of real and lasting value; those by Dr. Fairbairn on "Calvin" and on "European Thought in the Age of the Reformation" do not rise to the same level, the latter especially is thin and unsatisfactory.

The book is at once the measure of the greatness of Lord Acton's conception and of the loss caused by his death. An arch is built up of separate stones, but the keystone compacts them into a single fabric; and the absence of chapters which should adequately fulfil the function of the keystone is severely felt. There are very full bibliographies relating to the subject-matter of the various chapters, which extend over more than one hundred pages, and which will be of very great assistance to students. There is also a chronological table extending from 1503 to 1564, which would have been more helpful if it had been arranged in columns for different nations. The index is fairly full so far as words and names are concerned; but in a book of this kind, where the same persons and subjects are referred to several times in different chapters, a more complete system of cross-references under subject-headings would have been of great assistance. But when all has been said about the points in which this great work might have been even better, the fact remains that the book is certainly the best history of the Reformation which has appeared in English, and it is likely to keep its place for a long time as the standard book on the subject.

THE REPUTATION OF THE HOTWELLS (BRISTOL) AS A HEALTH RESORT. By L. M. GRIFFITHS, M.R.C.S.Eng. Bristol: J. W. ARROWSMITH.

The Hotwell was known to William Wyrcestre, who about 1480 described it as lying about a bow-shot from the Blackrock, and as being as warm as milk or the water at Bath; he also mentioned the copious spring on the Leigh side of the river, which he called Scarlet-welle. But the first mention of its medicinal qualities occurs in a book by Dr. Tobias Venner, in whose eyes it was evidently a potent remedy only to be used under the guidance of a physician, otherwise, among other things, it would "breed crudities, rheums, coughs, cachexies, the dropsie itself, and consumption." His book was first published in 1621. From this time forward the waters worked marvellous cures on fearful and wonderful diseases. In

1793 it is recorded that "the terrene matter corrects all acidities of the primæ viæ, it absorbs all acrimonious humours of the habit; prevents their accumulation and erosion of the blood vessels, so as to create hæmorrhage; in which their native stypticity has also its effect." But it is sad to hear that about this time, when the tenant was forced by his agreement with the Merchant Venturers to make a charge for the use of the spring, its powers were of no avail to retain the flocks who had crowded to it, and it was deserted except by invalids, with the result of a high death-rate and complete loss of reputation. The Hotwells were, however, a very fashionable resort through the whole of the eighteenth century, and the strawberry gardens on the Ashton side, which figure in Maria Edgeworth's stories, and which formed one of the attractions, continued till recent times. About 1800 Dr. Beddoes, of laughing-gas fame, treated consumptive patients with earth and air rather than water, making them live in rooms with cows in order that they might inhale the breath of the animals, or "with the materials used by gardeners for hot-beds." It is interesting to find that Southey considered the doctor an able man, to whose experiments he would rather trust himself than be killed off in the ordinary course of practice. Mr. Stoddart, in the course of some remarks on the various analyses of the water, suggests the possibility that the original spring has been lost, for the earliest analyses down to the end of the seventeenth century show the existence of sulphur, which does not appear afterwards. He suggests that the original spring was lost when the Pump Room was built in 1696. The analyses show, however, that the spring which has recently been recovered is the one which was famous in the eighteenth century. Dr. Griffiths has done good service by collecting in his booklet of some fifty pages an interesting account of the medicinal history of the well and of its fashionable associations. He has given also a bibliography of the Hotwell Water, and has collected from other books a series of pictures of the Hotwells and plans of Clifton which add very considerably to the interest of his story.

# In Memoriam.

## JOHN LATIMER.

Mr. John Latimer, who died on January 4th, 1904, after three weeks' illness, was in his 80th year, but, advanced as he was in age, his many friends were hoping that he might yet be spared for some few years to come. Last winter he was critically ill with bronchitis, but recovered, and did much active work during the past twelve months. He was at work, indeed, so late as the Saturday night before his death, when he corrected a proof of one portion of his transcript of the city charters which, in manuscript form, he had presented to the Corporation. But he evidently felt that the end was near, and told his friend, Mr. J. E. Pritchard, so. "You will have to finish these proofs." And so it must be.

Born at Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1824, Mr. Latimer was privately educated, and largely supplemented what he learned at school by his own hard studies. At seventeen he joined the commercial staff of the *Newcastle Chronicle* as cashier; but his literary abilities soon attracted the notice of the editor, and he was frequently called upon to assist on that side. At the end of ten years one of the proprietors died, and the paper changed hands; and Mr. Latimer's editorial work gradually grew in importance, until in 1858 he was a journalist of such standing that the then proprietors of the *Bristol Mercury* invited him to become their editor. In accepting, Mr. Latimer made the third Newcastle man in succession who had filled that editorial chair. Many people in Bristol have pleasant recollections of Mr. Latimer's long reign in Broad Street, both in the days of the weekly and the morning paper. He was not only a good worker, but a man of such strong character as to make his influence felt in all directions. He set a splendid example of conscientious and responsible journalism to his staff. In his quiet, unobtrusive way Mr. Latimer earned the

high regard of all around him, particularly the young, who found him an unfailing friend. In 1883 his newspaper was sold, and Mr. Latimer, with two other old servants, retired on superannuation.

Beginning at the age of twelve to keep a diary, Mr. Latimer had compiled a considerable local record before he left Newcastle. In 1857 he published *Local Records*, or a historical register of remarkable events which have occurred in Northumberland and Durham, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and Berwick-upon-Tweed, from 1832 to the present time, 1857, being a continuation of the work, under the same title, published by the late Mr. Sykes.

On January 2nd, 1856, he was elected a Member of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne, Dr. Collingwood Bruce being then Secretary, but he resigned in 1858 on his departure from the town. When he came to Bristol he soon began to collect matter of local interest, but the calls of daily journalism prevented such close attention to the subject as he would have otherwise given. He was, however, greatly interested in the old city, and delighted in following its history, much of which he was destined to be the first to make generally known. When the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society was formed Mr. Latimer became a member, and on the death of Mr. John Taylor, in 1894, succeeded him as hon. secretary for Bristol, an office in which in turn he was succeeded (1900) by Mr. John E. Pritchard, F.S.A. Mr. Latimer was a member of the Council of the Society at the time of his death. He was also an original member of the Clifton Antiquarian Club, and in January, 1902, was made a vice-president. Members of both these societies delighted to honour a man so industrious and so accurate in matters pertaining to Bristol history.

The leisure he obtained in 1883 he put to good use. In 1887 he published *The Annals of Bristol in the Nineteenth Century*, his first important contribution to local history, which is much prized for its remarkable accuracy and freedom from prejudice.

In 1893 came the eighteenth century annals, and in June of that year Mr. Latimer's friends promoted a public banquet at the Victoria Rooms, at which he was the guest of the evening.

Mr. F. F. Fox, always one of Mr. Latimer's most helpful friends in his work as a historian, was in the chair, and the Mayor (Mr.

W. R. Barker) and a distinguished company honoured the guest. The chairman ranked Mr. Latimer with such annalists as Ricart, William Wyrcestre, Barrett, Syer, Evans, Corry, Nicholls, Pryce, and John Taylor. Certainly Mr. Latimer was entitled to very high rank among them.

In his modest speech at the dinner Mr. Latimer told how the spirit of the annalist was born in him. As a boy he was an omnivorous reader of every class of literature "save sermons." He began intending to carry on John Evans's chronological history of Bristol; but the sudden rise of daily newspapers checked the work, which had to be practically put aside until 1883. Three years sufficed to produce the first book, but four were required for the second. In that period he spent many months at the Council House, and in worrying the Town Clerk, the City Treasurer, Mr. W. George, Mr. T. D. Taylor, and others, to say nothing of the officials at the Merchant Venturers' offices, the Consistory Court, the Bodleian Library, the British Museum, the Will Office, the House of Lords' Library, etc.

Largely owing to the persuasive powers of Mr. Fox the annals of the seventeenth century were afterwards undertaken, and while that proved a stupendous task the result was a book of the greatest fascination to the Bristol student and archæologist. When the manuscript was completed there was a printer's bill to be faced. Admirable as these books are, they are of a class that appeal to few buyers. In order to testify their personal esteem, and to secure the author of the book against loss, a number of Bristolians and others subscribed about £163, and presented it, together with an illuminated address, to Mr. Latimer. This was at the end of February, 1900. Bristol's first Lord Mayor (Sir Herbert Ashman) presided over a gathering held in the very room at the Council House where Mr. Latimer had worked so often. Those who were privileged to be present are not likely to forget the racy, yet modest, manner in which Mr. Latimer again described his efforts to make the book complete and accurate.

At the solicitation of owners of the first book Mr. Latimer prepared a supplement, dealing with the years from 1887 to the end of the century.

During the winter of 1902-3 he published in his old newspaper

a series of articles which really constitute a history of the city in the sixteenth century.

Last year he issued his history of the Merchant Venturers to subscribers. Only 250 copies were printed, and the Society took 100.

He was a frequent contributor to the *Transactions* of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society and the *Proceedings* of the Clifton Antiquarian Club.

To the *Transactions* of our Society he contributed the following papers:—"On the Hundredal and Manorial Franchise of the Furcas, Tumbril, and Pillory"; "Leland in Gloucestershire"; "On the Civil and Military History of Bristol" (read on the occasion of the visit of the Society to Bristol in 1890); "On the Manor of Clifton"; "Some Curious Incidents in Bristol History"; "The Hospital of St. John, Bristol."

In the *Proceedings of the Clifton Antiquarian Club* will be found—"Bristol Commerce in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries"; "Two Ancient Bristol Mansions—Romsey's House and Colston's House"; "Shall Trelawney Die?" "Note on a Deed Relating to the Partition of the Property of St. James's Priory, Bristol"; "Clifton in 1746"; and "On Some Ancient Deeds, Principally Relating to Some Property in St. James's Parish." The paper prepared by Mr. Latimer for the first winter evening meeting of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Society was read in his absence by the Bristol secretary. It was entitled "The Mercers and Linen Drapers' Company of Bristol," and it will be printed in the *Transactions* of the Society.

Mr. Latimer's death is a serious loss to historic Bristol, and we do not know where his successor is to come from, though he did so much to awaken interest in the old city.

His knowledge and time were placed at the disposal of his fellows again and again. In the report of the Museum Committee issued only a week before his death reference is made to work he had done for that institution. He was undoubtedly a born annalist, and could clothe the dry bones of history most gracefully, while fancy never got the better of fact.

The paper which is printed in this part gives an admirable example of Mr. Latimer's work, painstaking and to be regarded as absolutely accurate with regard to matters which came within

the range of his own observation. No one who has not done some such work as that of the list of Bristol mayors would understand the amount of toilsome research which was required to produce the result that is there shown; but it is a thoroughly characteristic piece of work. Mr. Latimer has set a standard of industry and accuracy for the Bristol historians who may come after him; and those who knew the gentle, kindly old man will be grateful to the Council for providing the portrait of him which accompanies this notice.

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## WILFRED J. CRIPPS, C.B., F.S.A.

Mr. Cripps, whose death on October 26th, 1903, is a serious loss not only to our Society, but to all those who are interested in ancient gold and silver plate, was born in 1841, being the eldest son of the late Mr. William Cripps, M.P., by his marriage with Mary Anne, daughter of the late Benjamin Harrison, Treasurer of Guy's Hospital.

He was educated at Trinity College, Oxford, was called to the Bar at the Middle Temple in 1865, and for a time went the Oxford Circuit. He did not, however, long pursue the legal profession, but devoted himself to public work and archæological and kindred pursuits. For some years he served with the Royal North Gloucester Militia, retiring with the rank of major. He was J.P. and D.L. for Gloucestershire, being Chairman of the Cirencester bench of magistrates. He was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries on June 3rd, 1880, and some years ago received the distinction of C.B. at the hands of the late Queen in recognition of his services to antiquarian research. He was the leading authority on old English plate, and his books on this subject had gone through several editions, being regarded as the standard works thereon.

Mr. Cripps married, firstly, a daughter of Mr. J. R. Daniel Tyssen, of Hackney, Middlesex (who died in 1881); and, secondly, Helen Augusta Wilhelmine, Countess Bismarck, daughter of Count Bismarck, of Schierstein, Prussia, who survives him.

*Abd Lewis & Son. 1903.*

John Latimer

He had been in failing health for some time, and in 1902 was laid up for several weeks at his London residence. He had, however, recovered a good deal of his strength; but he caught a chill about the middle of September, and had been confined to his bed ever since his return from a meeting of the Gloucestershire Education Committee on September 26th.

Mr. Cripps has been a helpful member of our Society from the beginning, for in the first Report his name appears as Local Secretary for the Cirencester District, and he has never relaxed his interest in our work. In 1877 he contributed a paper to the *Transactions* on "The Church Plate at Cirencester," and in 1882 one on "The Plate at Northleach"; while on April 27th, 1903, at the time when the work of describing the church plate in our district was commenced, he gave a most valuable address on the subject of "Church Plate and How to Describe it," which was afterwards printed in the *Transactions*. He also contributed a paper to volume xxi. on "A Roman Basilica," which had been discovered at Cirencester. But these papers represent but a part of the work which he did for us, for he was always willing to give information on his favourite subject, and quite recently he has given much very valuable help with regard to the list of Gloucestershire plate, which is now being prepared for publication. It is not easy to see where we are to look in future for assistance of this kind which shall be at once so thoroughly trustworthy and so readily bestowed.

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## Dr. J. G. SWAYNE.

Dr. Swayne died on August 2nd, 1903, at the ripe age of 84 years. He was one of the last of a remarkable band who did so much to advance the fame of Bristol as a centre of medical and surgical science about the middle of the last century. As an obstetric surgeon he was famed throughout Europe, and as a professor at the local Medical School he rendered invaluable service. He was the second son of Mr. John Champeny Swayne, of Berkeley Square, senior consulting accoucher to the Bristol Dispensary, and grandson of the Rev. J. Swayne, who for fifty years was vicar of

Pucklechurch. In 1895, on retiring from the Medical School, he was entertained at dinner by the medical profession, on which occasion he was presented with a handsome gift of plate. Dr. Swayne was one of our founders as he was present at the inaugural meeting of the Society on April 22nd, 1876, and his name, with that of his brother, Mr. S. H. Swayne, and of his sister, Miss Swayne, appears in the first list of members. For many years one or both of the brothers and the sister attended our meetings most regularly. That two have passed away is one of the marks that the old order is changing and giving place to a new one. We can only hope that those of the new order will attend as regularly and take as keen an interest in the work of the Society as did those who are passing away.

J. W. Arrowsmith, Printer, Quay Street, Bristol.

# EFFIGIES OF BRISTOL.

By I. M. ROPER.

*The Latin epitaphs are reproduced as they stand.*

## BRISTOL RURAL DEANERY.

### THE CATHEDRAL—Dedicated to the Holy and Undivided Trinity.

1. Military. Knight in armour cross-legged below the knee.

2. Recumbent effigy.

3. Stone.

4. Life-size, 6 ft. long.

5. The knight is enveloped in a complete suit of chain mail. A hauberk, which covers the head and reaches to the middle of the thighs, where it is slightly cut up, has long sleeves covering the hands and divided at the fingers. Underneath is a quilted haketon, which appears above the knees and is also cut up. Over all is worn a long, loose flowing surcoat, having long sleeves and reaching nearly to the feet. It is kept together at the waist by a narrow buckled belt or cingulum, cut open below, and arranged with many deep folds down each side of the legs.

The chausses of mail extend over the feet, with straps for the prick-spurs. At the knees are small kneecaps, probably of "cuir bouilli." The sword belt, which is very broad and ends in a metal tab, is loosely fastened with a plain buckle high over the hips, and carries a very long pointed sword with a straight hilt.

Upon the left arm is borne a small heater-shaped shield displaying the armorial bearings of the Berkeleys, viz.: "Chevron, between ten crosses pattee, 4.2.1.2.1." The broad strap or guige passes towards the right shoulder, but does not

appear to be continued further than the edge of the surcoat: the two loops or enarmes are shown within the shield. The eyes are closed and the hands are clasped in prayer.

6. The head rests on two square pillows, the top one smaller and set diagonally, and is supported on either side by an angel resting the hands on the pillow and the shoulder.

7. The feet are on a lion.

8. A plain slab, with recumbent effigy, is placed within a stellated decorated recess with a plain stone background. The five segments of the arch of the canopy are ornamented on the inner side with reticulated cusps and the spandrels pierced with geometrical tracery. Outwards, the five rays of the star terminate in beautiful finials of varied foliage, and are bordered with maple leaves and seed pods (and not mistletoe, as stated by Murray, *Bristol Cathedral*, p. 160) springing from small human heads.

There are seven similar monumental recesses in the Lady Chapel and aisles decorated with different examples of natural foliage.

9. There is no inscription.

Supposed to be THOMAS II., 6th Lord Berkeley, died 1321, aged 76.[1]

The shield shows that the effigy represents a member of the Berkeley family, and it cannot be earlier than Thomas II., if we believe the distinct statement in Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, vol. i., p. 219, that "the ten crosses pattee between the chevron" were first added to the Berkeley coat by Thomas II., 6th Lord, in 9 Edward I. (1281). This identification is borne out by the costume, as Mr. Albert Hartshorne is of opinion the date of the effigy is very near to 1309. In that year Joan, the wife of Thomas II., died, and had a monument erected to her memory in St. Augustine's, and an effigy of her husband may have been placed there at the same time.

The fashion of the armour on the present effigy had passed away by the date of his death in 1321, whilst it had

[1] *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xv., part i., p. 92.

not come in so early as 1243, when his predecessor Thomas I. died.

Another point confirming the identity with Thomas II. is that "gesso work," such as was used on the effigy, was first introduced towards the end of the thirteenth century.

Further confirmation may be gathered from the heraldry on an altar tomb standing "in the arch between the vestry and the south aisle," at which place Smyth states Thomas II. and his wife were buried.

This tomb is ornamented on the side towards the Berkeley Chapel with five shields of arms, which are as follows:—

(1) "Chevron, between ten crosses pattee," Berkeley.

(2) "Vaire," Ferrers.

(3) "Three leopards passant gardant in pale," Royal Arms.

(4) "Six mascles, 3.2.1," Quincey.

(5) "Berkeley, differenced with a label of four points (lined) azure."

It is clear that some of these shields commemorate Joan, wife of Thomas II., who came of the family of Ferrers and Quincey, died in 1309, and was buried in St. Augustine's before Abbot Knowles' church was finished in 1320.[1]

If the effigy of Thomas II. was on this tomb with that of his wife, it must have been removed at a later date, and be the one now lying in the south choir aisle.

Whilst it fully confirms the identity of Thomas II., it may be recognised that the heraldry of the effigy and the tomb may have reference as well to other members of the Berkeley family.

This becomes clear on considering the opinion of Mr. F. Were. He thinks that Thomas I., who succeeded as 4th Lord in 1220, was the one who changed the coat by adding the ten crosses pattee on becoming a Knight Templar, and that the date of the Crusades prevents the augmentation being so late as 1295, when Thomas II. became 1st real Baron Berkeley by writ, and in this he is backed up by Collinson. It follows from this view, as Mr. F. Were shows,

[1] Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*.

that the heraldry on the effigy proves that it may have belonged to the later years of Thomas I., died 1243, Lord Berkeley, or to Maurice his son, or to Thomas II.

Looking further to the heraldry on the tomb, Mr. F. Were says that very probably three or four members of the Berkeley family were buried on the spot where the tomb still stands, since the shields in the arch, unless the crosses were painted, belonged to the early years of Thomas I. or his brother Robert, 1190; whilst the shields on the south side in the chapel, if not semi-modern, show the connection of them with Thomas II., and include one (the most easterly) of his son Maurice, 1321.

10. The rings of mail are no longer represented, that part of the effigy having been originally made of gesso, and become worn off from the cleaning of the figure at various times.

The labour of carving in hard stone each ring of mail was replaced towards the end of the thirteenth century by a much easier method, known as "gesso work." This consisted of a paste of whitening and parchment glue spread over the stone surface where required and impressed with mail stamps bit by bit, which when hard could be painted, gilded, or silvered. The city of Gloucester was probably one place for this kind of work.[1]

11. The features are very much worn, the nose being broken off. The tops of the fingers and the toes of the left foot are gone, and the head and arm of outside angel are also broken off.

12. Placed in the western recess of the south choir aisle.

13. Described and illustrated by Mrs. Bagnall-Oakley in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xv., part i., p. 92. Illustrated in Skelton, *Antiquities of Bristol*, plate xviii.; in Seyer, *History of Bristol*, and on sheet of engravings, plate xiv., dated 1784. (A copy in the Cathedral vestry.) Tomb illustrated in Lyson, *Coll. of Glo. Antiq.*, plate lxxxix.

14. The effigy is in fairly good condition.

[1] Mr. Albert Hartshorne, *Portraiture, etc.*, p. 19.

15. Thomas II., 6th Lord Berkeley, was son of Maurice II. and great grandson of Robert Fitzharding. He seems to have been a very remarkable man, excelling in war, politics, field sports, and husbandry, as well as being a liberal donor of plate and ornaments to the Abbey of St. Augustine's, Bristol.

He was present at most of the battles in Edward I.'s reign in France, Scotland, and Wales, and was Constable and General of a great army led into France. He was constituted one of the Commissioners for treating of peace between Edward I. and the King of France in 1295, and was one of the three Ambassadors to the Pope in 1307.

He was taken prisoner at the battle of Bannockburn in 1314 and ransomed in the following year.

He married Joan, the daughter of Earl Ferrers and Derby by his second wife, who was the eldest daughter and co-heir of Roger de Quincey, Earl of Winchester.[1]

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1. Military. Knight in armour.
2. Recumbent effigy.
3. Stone.
4. More than life-size, 6 ft. 7½ in. long.
5. The knight is enveloped in a suit of chain mail with the addition of kneecaps, which are of plate, and show the first introduction of that kind of armour. The hauberk, which covers the body from the head to the middle of the thighs, where it is slightly cut up, has long sleeves covering the hands and divided at the fingers. Underneath it is a quilted haketon, which appears above the knees and is also cut up. On the head is a spherical bascinet fastened to the hauberk above the ears by a cord passing through broad staples. Over the hauberk is worn a long, loose, flowing surcoat having sleeves to the elbows and reaching nearly to the feet. It is cut open below the waist and arranged in

[1] Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, vol. i., pp. 172, 179, 182, and 205; Atkyns, *Gloucestershire*, p. 137.

loose folds, and girdled by a very narrow belt or cingulum, banded, and with the end hanging down from the buckle. The chausses of mail extend over the feet and the prick-spurs are held in position by straps, whilst the knees are protected by kneecaps of plate.

A broad sword belt, loosely buckled over the hips, is attached by swivels to the scabbard of a light sword, which hangs obliquely. The details of the belt are elaborate and interesting.

Upon the left arm is borne obliquely a small heater-shaped shield, displaying the armorial bearings of the Berkeleys, viz.: "Chevron, between ten crosses pattee, 4.2.1.2.1." The broad strap or guige, with its metal end, passes over the right shoulder and is buckled on the breast.

The eyes are open and the hands clasped in prayer; the feet are placed wide apart.

6. The head rests on a large square pillow supported by two angels (mutilated) with their hands resting on it.

7. The feet rest on the shoulders of a man's bust (the head broken off). Its hands are clasped in prayer.

8. The recumbent effigy, on a plain slab resting on a larger one, is placed within a stellated decorated recess with a plain stone background. Under the soffit of the second slab is a row of four-leaved flowers. The five segments of the arch of the canopy are ornamented on the inner side with reticulated cusps and the spandrels pierced with geometrical tracery. Outwards the five rays of the star terminate in beautiful finials of varied foliage, and are ornamented with a border of ranunculus flowers and leaves, springing on either side from a small male and female human head. There are seven similar monumental recesses in the Lady Chapel and aisles decorated with different examples of natural foliage.

9. There is no inscription.

Supposed to be MAURICE III., 7th Lord Berkeley, died 1326, aged 46.

10. The rings of the armour are no longer represented

on the stone, having been made of gesso. This production is described on page 218.

11. The features are much worn, the nose being broken off. Half of the sword has disappeared, and the angels, with the figure at the feet, are headless. The form of the toes is marked upon each foot, but this was doubtless done by some one after the armour was effaced, and when the feet looked as though they were entirely naked.

12. Placed in a recess, the second to the west in the south choir aisles. The effigy is older than Abbot Knowles' Church, as shown by the armour, so it was probably removed from the old structure of Robert Fitzharding's founding and deposited in its present position after the reconstruction of the building about 1320.[1]

13. Described and illustrated by Mrs. Bagnall-Oakley in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xv., part i., p. 94. Illustrated in Skelton, *Antiquities of Bristol*, plate xviii., and on sheet of engravings, plate xiv., dated 1784. (Copy in the Cathedral vestry.)

Details of sword belt illustrated in *Arch. Journ.*, vol. xlviii., p. 334.

14. The effigy is well preserved.

15. Maurice III., 7th Lord Berkeley, was the eldest son of Thomas the 6th Lord, whom he succeeded in 1321. He took part against King Edward II. and the Despensers in 1322, and was in consequence imprisoned in Wallingford Castle. He died and was buried there in 1326, but the body was in the following year removed to St. Augustine's Monastery, Bristol. He was twice married, and left five sons and one daughter.[2]

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1. Military. Knight in armour.
   Lady.
2. Recumbent effigies.
3. Freestone.

[1] Pryce, *History of Bristol*, p. 102.
[2] Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, vol. i., p. 272.

4. More than life-size. Male figure 6 ft. 9 in. and female 6 ft. long.

5. The male effigy is in mixed armour of chain and plate. A short hauberk reaches to about the middle of the thighs, and is rounded at the bottom. It has apparently short sleeves, which show at the armholes. Over this a slightly shorter jupon is worn, tight-fitting to the shape, without sleeves and scalloped at the edge. On it is embroidered the arms of the Berkeleys: "Chevron between ten crosses pattee, 4.2.1.2.1." (two of the four are covered by the position of the hands), and there is a similar chevron at the back, which is partly visible.

On the head is a steel skullcap or *coif de fer*, with a camail of chain attached to it below the ears by a lace, passing through small staples.

He wears laminated epaulières of plate, rerebraces, coudes of plate rounded and riveted, and vambraces. The rerebraces and vambraces may be of cuir bouilli with longitudinal strips of plate fastened on to them. Upon the hands are gauntlets of plate, articulated and divided into fingers.

Chausses of mail extend over the feet with straps, to which are attached rowel spurs. The thighs are also protected by quilted armour of leather, or by pourpoint work, whilst the shins have jambs of plate, fastened by three straps round the chausses. The knees are protected by large convex genouillères of plate, rounded and riveted.

A military belt, wide and closely ornamented with a row of quatrefoils, is adjusted about the thighs in the singular method of the period, so that it appears immediately above the scalloped edge of the jupon and of the hauberk below. The remains of a long sword hang perpendicularly on the left side from the belt, whilst a dagger, with decorated sheath and depressed guard, hangs straight on the other side.

There is no shield. The hands are clasped in prayer; the eyes are open and the moustache is drooping.

The female costume is that worn at the beginning of the

fourteenth century. It consists of a full robe or kirtle, worn high in the neck, with tight-fitting sleeves and a long train. Over this is a surcoat or supertunic without sleeves and as long as the kirtle, and held up beneath the forearms to keep it out of the way of the feet and to show the kirtle beneath. Over all is worn a mantle, resting on the shoulders and fastened across the breast by a cord passed through eyelet holes on the right side to an ornamental button on the left. This mantle falls over the upper arms and down the sides nearly to the feet in graceful folds.

The head is covered with a wimple, which takes the form of a gorget, the linen being wrapped several times round the neck and raised on either side of the face as high as the ears and there slightly distended in order to show the hair. Over the head is a veil falling in folds to the shoulders.

The feet are wide apart and covered with pointed shoes. The hands are bare and in the attitude of prayer.

Similar costume is shown on effigies of a member of the Berkeley family, Tickenham Church, Somerset; of Aveline, Countess of Lancaster, Westminster Abbey, 1269; and of Edith Ashley, Hillmorton Church, Warwickshire.

Similar headdress on lady of the Ryther family in Hollis, *Monumental Effigies of Great Britain.*

6. Under the male head is a crested helm with a plain mitre (the crest of the Berkeleys) rising from a coronet. The helm is surcharged with a cross.

Under the female head are two square pillows, the top one smaller, set diagonally and adorned with tassels. On either side are small angels (the heads gone) with both hands resting on the upper pillow.

7. The male feet rest on a lion, prostrate, with mouth open and tail thrown over its back.

The female feet rest on two "small hounds," back to back and sitting up. The gown falls partly over them.

8. A very high altar tomb under a double-groined canopy, the roof of which is divided into quatrefoil panels. The dividing rib is adorned with three very handsome bosses

of masks surrounded by foliage. The roof is supported by small fan-like arches springing from corbels of human faces and foliage. Three sides of the tomb are embellished with a series of buttresses and recessed canopied niches. The panels are empty except two on the front side, which contain inscriptions.

9. Inscriptions on two modern brasses let into the panels on the front of the tomb:—

"This tomb was erected to the Memory of Maurice, Lord Berkeley, ninth Baron of Berkeley Castle, who died the 8th day of June, 1368."

"Also, of the Lady Margaret his Mother, Daughter of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March and first Wife of Thomas, 8th Lord Berkeley. She died the 5th day of May, 1337."

Supposed to be MAURICE IV., 9th Lord Berkeley, died 1368.

Supposed to be MARGARET, his mother, first wife of Thomas III., 8th Lord Berkeley, died 1337, aged 29.[1]

Pryce, *History of Bristol*, pp. 104–5, considers the figures to be those of Maurice III., 7th Lord Berkeley, died 1326, and Isabel his second wife. He regards the two inscribed tablets as incorrect and modern.

10. The figures have been painted stone-colour several times, and in the case of the female the paint has obliterated the details of her bodice and mantle.

11. The sword is broken off below the hilt, and is no longer replaced by an iron one, as stated in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xv., part i., p. 97. The nose of the knight is broken off and the hands of the lady are much worn. Her garments are very much chipped, and the angels at the head of the effigy are headless.

The carving of the tomb is somewhat damaged.

The monument was painted and repaired in 1742 at the expense of Lady Betty Germaine. At that time the effigies were considered to be those of Robert Fitzharding and Eva

[1] Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, vol. i., pp. 345, 377; *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xv., part i., pp. 67, 96.

his wife, as shown by an inscription which still remains at the foot of the canopied recess.

12. Placed between the Elder Lady Chapel and the north choir aisle in the eastern arched recess. Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, vol. i., p. 345, states that the Lady Margaret was buried at this place.

13. Described and illustrated by Mrs. Bagnall-Oakley in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xv., part i., p. 97 (male figure), and in vol. xvi., part i., p. 115 (female figure).

Effigies illustrated on sheet of engravings, plate xiv., Bristol, dated 1784.

Tomb illustrated on similar sheet, plate v.

Copies of both are in the Cathedral vestry.

A painting of the tomb by E. Caskin, 1825, in the Bristol Museum, shows a coat of arms at the foot.

14. The effigies are fairly well preserved.

15. Maurice IV., 9th Lord Berkeley, was the eldest son of Thomas III., 8th Lord Berkeley, by his first wife Margaret, daughter of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March. He married at eight years old Elizabeth, daughter of Hugh Despenser. He was at the battle of Poictiers, where he received wounds, from which he never recovered.

He had four sons and three daughters, including Thomas the Magnificent, 10th Lord Berkeley, and Sir James Berkeley, who died in 1405, and was buried in his father's tomb.

The Lady Elizabeth, wife of Maurice IV., was buried in the Church of St. Botolph, London.[1]

The female figure is that of Lady Margaret, the mother of Maurice IV., as stated above. She was descended from the princes of ancient Wales.

1. Ecclesiastical. Abbot.
2. Recumbent effigy.
3. Stone.
4. Life-size.

[1] Smyth *Lives of the Berkeleys*, vol. i., pp. 367-8, 374.

5. The abbot is attired in the vestments for the celebration of the Mass. He wears a full alb reaching to the feet, with tight sleeves to the wrists over it a plain tunic, and over that again the dalmatic, edged with fringe, open on both sides and having large flowing sleeves, and over all the chasuble.

Round the neck is a plain amice, and neither maniple nor stole are shown. He wears the precious mitre profusely jewelled, and his curly hair shows behind. The hands, raised from the body in prayer, are covered with gloves with pointed gauntlets and the back decorated with ornamental roses.

Lying within the right arm is a pastoral staff, turned outwards, with a slender but beautifully carved crook, with the sudarium twisted round the staff. The feet are covered by the alb except the toes. The eyes are open, and the features are refined and full of expression.

6. The head rests on a small square pillow supported by two angels, seated *vis-à-vis;* the outward one touches the crook of the pastoral staff.

7. The feet rest against a dog lying down.

8. A very high altar tomb with recumbent effigy, within one of the eight stellated recesses, with a plain background. The five segments of the arch of the canopy spring from human heads, bordered with ball-flower moulding, and terminate in beautiful finials of varied foliage. The front of the tomb is divided into seven low tri-cusped recesses topped by handsome crocketed canopies and separated by ornamental pinnacles.

9. There is no inscription.

Known to be ABBOT WALTER NEWBURY, died 1473.

Until recently modern authorities have ascribed this effigy to Abbot Knowle, but in Newland's *Chronicle Roll* it is clearly stated that he was buried "before the Rood Altar" in the nave, and that Abbot Newbury was buried "in the over-arch of Our Lady's Chapel on the north side of the altar," so

there is no doubt this effigy commemorates the latter abbot, Newbury.[1]

10. There is no sign of painting.

11. The toes are broken.

12. Placed in the eastern recess on the north side of the Lady Chapel.

13. Tomb illustrated and effigy described in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. ix., part i., p. 62.

14. The effigy is well preserved.

15. Walter Newbury was 19th Abbot, or 17th according to Newland's *Chronicle Roll*, and ruled from 1428 to 1473, with a break of five years from 1451–6. Owing to internal dissensions in the monastery, Newbury was put out from his rule for five years, to be usurped by Thomas Sutton, and afterwards gladly reinstated.

It is believed he rebuilt the tower during his abbacy.[2]

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1. Ecclesiastical. Abbot.

2. Recumbent effigy.

3. Freestone.

4. Diminutive, 5 ft. long.

5. The abbot is attired in the vestment for the celebration of the Mass. He wears a full alb to the feet with long tight sleeves; over it a tunic, edged with fringe and cut up on one side only; then, a dalmatic with large flowing sleeves; and over all, a plain chasuble.

Round the neck is the amice with a small turned-back hood, and on the left arm a short maniple, shaped like a stole and with fringed ends. He wears the precious mitre, handsomely decorated with roses and jewels, and showing his curly hair beneath. The hands, raised in prayer, are covered with short gloves, the backs adorned with a double rose, and a jewelled ring is worn outside on the third finger of the right hand above the second joint.

[1] *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xv., part i., pp. 65, 70.

[2] *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xv., part i., pp. 70–1

On the right arm rests a pastoral staff (mutilated) with the crook turned outwards, and veiled by the sudarium tied round it. Very pointed shoes are visible below the alb.

The features are severe and very wrinkled, and the eyes are open; it is probably not a portrait.

6. The head rests on two square pillows, the lower one tasselled, the top one plain and set diagonally. It is supported by two angels with heads thrown back and their hands resting on the top pillow and the side of the mitre

7. The feet rest on a large hound lying prostrate.

8. A plain altar tomb with recumbent effigy, placed within one of the eight stellated recesses with a plain stone background. The five segments of the arch of the canopy spring from a male and female head and terminate in handsome finials of foliage, bordered with vine leaves and tendrils.

9. There is no inscription.

Ascribed to ABBOT WILLIAM HUNT, died 1481.

Errors in the identification of the abbots have crept into the histories from Barrett's time, and are continued in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. ix., part i., p. 63. The correct naming is established in vol xv., part i., p. 70.

10. There is no sign of painting.

11. Part of the crook of the pastoral staff is broken off and four inches of the staff, also the wing of the outside angel.

12. Placed in the second recess from the east end on the north side of the Lady Chapel. Abbot Hunt was "buried in the north side of Our Lady Chapel, in the nether arch by the quire there."[1]

13. Effigy illustrated in Skelton, *Antiquities of Bristol*, Plate XVIII.

14. It is in good condition.

15. William Hunt was the 21st Abbot (or 19th according to Newland's *Chronicle Roll*), and ruled the Monastery of St. Augustine's from 1473 to 1481. It seems clear that he

[1] Newland, *Chronicle Roll.*

thoroughly repaired and new-leaded the roof of the Lady Chapel and the eastern arm of the abbey right up to the tower, the latter having been otherwise completed by the previous Abbot Newbury.[1]

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1. Ecclesiastical. Abbot.
2. Recumbent effigy.
3. Freestone.
4. Life size, 5 ft. 10 in. long.
5. The abbot is attired in the vestments for the celebration of the Mass. He wears a full alb, reaching to the feet with tight sleeves to the wrists; over it a tunic, edged with fringe and cut up on the left side; then, a dalmatic, shown open on the left side only and with large wide sleeves; and over all, a plain chasuble.

Round the neck is the amice, its hood falling at the back, and on the left arm a maniple shaped like a stole and the ends fringed. He wears the precious mitre adorned with two roses and jewelled, showing a little curly hair beneath. The hands raised in prayer are covered with gloves, the backs bearing a jewelled ornament, and rings are outside on the first and third fingers of the left hand.

On the right shoulder and passing beneath the arm is a beautifully carved pastoral staff, turned inwards and veiled by the sudarium tied round it. On the feet are pointed shoes.

The face is hard featured and very wrinkled and the eyes open; it is probably not a portrait.

6. The head rests on two pillows, the lower one square and tasselled; the upper, plain and set diagonally. It is supported by two angels with heads thrown back and their hands resting on the top pillow and the end of the mitre.

7. The feet rest on the slab only, but are supported by two angels holding a shield over the feet, on which is carved the rebus.

[1] *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xv., part i., p. 72.

8. A plain altar tomb with recumbent effigy, placed within one of the eight stellated recesses with a plain stone background. The five segments of the canopy spring from human heads of a bearded man and a woman with veil head-dress, and terminate in beautiful finials of vine and oak leaves and fruits, bordered with crockets of leaves. The arms at the feet form his rebus and are:

"(Argent) three Passion nails (or) piercing a human heart vulned (proper)," with the initials "I. N." in chief.—NAILHEART.

9. There is no inscription, the brass having been removed from the matrix at the back.

Known to be ABBOT JOHN NEWLAND or NAILHEART, died 1515.[1]

10. There are traces of colour in the deeper recesses of the stone carvings, but this colour was modern, having been applied by order of Dean Elliott, and subsequently removed by him.

Murray, *Bristol Cathedral*, p. 152, states "on restoration of chancel the effigy was found to have been richly coloured."

11. The hands have been restored.

12. Placed in the recess on the south side of the Lady Chapel. Newland was buried "in the south side of Our Lady Chappell in the arch there by the dore going into the loft going to the organs."[2]

13. Effigy illustrated in Skelton, *Antiquities of Bristol*, plate xviii. Sketched about 1684 and published in Dingley, *History from Marble*, Cambrian Society, p. 65.

Arms (without initials) illustrated by Mrs. Bagnall-Oakley in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. ix., part i., p. 64.

14. The effigy is in very good condition.

15. John Newland was the 22nd Abbot and ruled the Monastery of St. Augustine from 1481 to 1515. He describes himself as the 20th Abbot, as he omits Abbots Philip and Joseph from his list.

[1] *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xv., part i., p. 74.

[2] Newland, *Chronicle Roll* quoted in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xv., part i., p. 74.

He expended considerable sums of money in repairing and embellishing the monastic buildings, and acquired so much popularity by his deeds of charity as to be styled after his death "The Good Abbot." He built the dormitory, refectory, the Prior's Lodging, the Gatehouse, the Almonry and other monastic offices, and in addition he began the rebuilding of the nave outside the existing Norman nave, only getting, however, so far as to raise the north wall to the level of the window sills. The other parts of the church had been finished by his predecessor, Abbot Hunt, before 1481.

On account of his marked abilities he was several times employed in foreign embassies by Henry VII.

He compiled a *Chronicle Roll of the Berkeley Family*, which included a register of the principal events in the Bristol Abbey history from Henry II. to Henry VII. This was formerly preserved at Berkeley Castle, but only a copy now exists.[1]

1. Ecclesiastical. Bishop.
2. Recumbent effigy.
3. Freestone.
4. Life size, 5 ft. 7 in. long.
5. The bishop is represented as an emaciated corpse, wearing a loin cloth and lying on a plaited rush mat. The hair is closely cropped with a large tonsure; the hands are lying straight down at the sides, and beside him on the right is a slender pastoral staff (broken).
6. The head rests on a large flattened mitre profusely ornamented and jewelled. The infulæ, edged with fringe, are hanging below.
7. The feet (broken off) rested on the mat only.
8. A low altar tomb under a flat oblong canopy supported by six fluted columns with Ionic capitals. Above each is a small shield, but the painted arms are almost obliterated,

[1] Newland, *Chronicle Roll*, quoted in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.* vol. xv., part i., pp. 73-4; Atkyns, *Gloucestershire*, p. 136.

and along the top border is an inscription. The sides of the tomb have panels with inscriptions, now illegible. Barrett, *History of Bristol*, p. 302, states that the effigy was enclosed with wooden railings; they have been removed, but the square holes still remain.

9. Latin inscription now on edge of canopy:

"Hic Jacet Dns Paulus Bushe Primus Huius Eccliae Episcopus Qui Obiit XI Die Octobris Anno Domini 1558 Etatisque Sue 68 Cuius Anime Propitietur Christus."

Dingley, *History from Marble*, 1684, shows in his sketch the inscription extended round the slab of the tomb, and he read at the end, "Deus Christus. Amen."

Barrett, *History of Bristol*, p. 302, states, "Between the pillars at bottom and round the verge at top is painted an inscription in black letters." Since his time the present inscription has been incised on the edge of the canopy only, without colour.

Inscription on sides of tomb (now illegible):—

"Dignus, qui primam circum sua tempora mitram
Indueret, jacet hic Bristoliense decus
A Patre, Bush, dictus Paulum Baptisma vocavit,
Virtute implevit nomen utrumque sua
Paulus Edintoniae bis Messes preco secutus
Instituit populum dogmate Christe tuo
Ille animos verbis, impensis pavit egenos
Hinc fructum, arbusto prebuit ille suo
Ut madidos arbusta juvant, sic foedere rupto
Inter discordes pacificator erat."[1]

BISHOP PAUL BUSH, died 1558, aged 68.

10. The hair shows signs of natural colour, the mitre of red with coloured jewels, and the staff of a dark paint.

11. The features are defaced, the feet and crook of the staff are missing, and the infulæ are mutilated.

The tomb has been restored in 1902 by descendants of the family in Bristol.

12. Fixed endwise in the north choir aisle against the

[1] Browne Willis, *Bristol Cathedral*, p. 778.

western pillar of the Lady Chapel. This was its original position.

13. Sketched in Dingley, *History from Marble*, 1684 (Cambrian Society).

14. The tomb is in good condition but rather worn.

15. Paul Bush was a native of Somerset. He was a member of the University of Oxford and last rector of the College of Bonhommes at Edingdon, Wilts, where he gained a great reputation as a doctor of medicine and theology. He was appointed by Henry VIII. to be first Bishop of Bristol, and was consecrated in 1542, but was deprived of the See by Queen Mary in 1554, because he had broken his vow of celibacy by his marriage with Edith Ashley and refused to dissolve it. He retired to Winterbourne, Glo., as rector until his death in 1558. During his episcopate the Manor of Leigh, one of the most valuable belonging to the see, was extorted from him by the Crown. In his will he desired to be buried on the south side of the High Altar of the Cathedral, but he lies on the north side near his wife's grave.[1]

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1. Military. Knight in armour.
   Lady.
2. Recumbent effigies.
3. The figures are of freestone and the tomb of alabaster.
4. Life-size · Male 6 ft. long; female 5 ft. 8 in. long.
5. Male costume:—

He wears a complete suit of plate armour without engraving. The body is encased in a breast-plate with tapul and a back-plate. Attached are light taces, to which are buckled short tassets or jointed tuilles over a still shorter trunk hose. The pauldrons are of heavy overlapping plates, with pointed coudes and hinged vambraces. The thighs are protected by cuisses strapped on, with imitations of pointed articulations, with plain hose underneath; the knees by blunt heart-shaped genouillères and the legs by hinged jambs,

[1] Browne Willis, *Bristol Cathedral*, pp. 777–8.

which meet heavy broad-toed solerets with rowel spurs. Round the throat is a large gorget somewhat resembling a ruff, and at the wrists are plain cuffs. Round the waist is a narrow belt, and hanging down loosely across the tassets is another strap, buckled in front and hooked on to the waist belt. Attached to this on the left side, and by a hook on the waist belt, is a broad loop, or hangers, through which is suspended a long plain sword, the hilt broken off. All the parts of the armour have scalloped edges fixed on by rows of rivets, the heads adding to the ornamentation. The arms are raised from the body in the attitude of prayer, but the hands are broken off. The hair is cropped short, and also the beard, trimmed to a point with a moustache. The eyes are open. Similar costume is shown on the effigies of Sir Richard Berkeley, of Stoke Gifford, 1604, Lord Mayor's Chapel, Bristol, and of Sir William More, St. Nicholas Church, Guildford.

Female costume :—

This is as worn by ladies at the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign. There is a tight bodice with a large stomacher plain and ending in a long point. Below is a modified farthingale covered by a full gown, with a deep flounce on the hips attached by a cording to the bodice. The sleeves are padded high at the shoulders and turned back at the wrists with small cuffs. At the throat is a large close ruff, and on the head the Paris hood, with the hair brushed back from the forehead over a stuffed roll. The feet are shown in heavy broad-toed shoes; the eyes are open and the figure is in the attitude of prayer, with arms raised from the body. (Hands are broken off.)

6. Under the male head is a very large square full cushion with cord and tassels.

Under the female head is a similar cushion placed on a still larger one, both being adorned with cord and tassels.

7. The feet of both effigies rest on the slab only.

8. It is a very high altar tomb of alabaster, with two stone slabs and recumbent effigies. The front of the tomb is

divided into two parts by a horizontal moulded band, the lower is left plain and the upper has two shallow recesses, framed by three pilasters. In the recesses are diminutive kneeling "weepers," viz. the children, the highest being two feet.

On the left side are the two sons, the elder dressed in armour of the same type as the father's, every detail being copied. He is kneeling on a square cushion before a lectern, on which is an open book. His hands are clasped before him in prayer. Behind him kneels on a cushion the younger son, dressed as a scholar in a plain doublet buttoned down the front, confined at the waist by a belt, and a long skirt completely covering the legs. A turnback band or collar is at the neck and small cuffs at the wrists. The hands are clasped in prayer.

Similar dress is worn by the boys of Christ Church Schools, London, and Queen Elizabeth Hospital, Bristol.

On the right side are four daughters dressed in similar attire to the mother, except they have no flounces to their gowns, and no head-dresses, the hair being elaborately braided and arranged on the top of the head. Each of them is kneeling on a cushion with the hands clasped in prayer.

There is no niche or canopy about the tomb, but on the wall above is a monumental slab with two ornamented pilasters. The slab has an inscription and is bordered by six shields, above being two more shields and a lozenge, the whole surmounted by the crest on a wreath.

The heraldry is given on the authority of Mr. F. Were, and as far as can be observed by him, all the arms given below are those on the monument at the present date.

Dexter shield:—

(1) Gone. Really "Argent on a chevron azure three garbs or," Cradock-Newton.

(2) "Ermine three fusils in fess sable," Sherborne.

(3) " . . . four fusils in fess azure between two bars or a bend gules." Really "Or, four fusils in fess azure, over all a bend gules," Angell.

(4) "Gules three pears 2 and 1 argent." Really "Gules three pears 2 and 1 or," PERROTT.

(5) Gone. (Looks like lion's tail, etc., on edge.) Really "Sable, billety a lion rampant or," ? HARVEY.

(6) "Sable (or azure) a chevron argent." Really "Sable a chevron (ermine) between three escallops argent," CHEDDER.

(7) "Gules a bend between two crosses croslet argent," generally given "Azure a bend between six fleurs de lys or," ? HAMPTON.

(8) "Ermine a fess gules," BITTON.

(9) Gone. (Looks like end of bend sable.) Really "Gules a bend between six crosses croslet or," FURNEAULX.

(10) "Sable a chevron or." Really "Sable on a chevron between three leaves (East Harptree) or, an eagle displayed of the first," CANDECOT.

(11) "Paly of six or and azure," GOURNAY.

(12) "Argent a saltire humetty fleury at the ends, gules," HARPETRE.

IMPALING.

(1) "Azure six fleurs de lys 3.2.1. argent a chief indented or." Really "Argent six fleurs de lys 3.2.1. azure a chief indented or," PASTON.

(2) "Sable, a fess between two chevrons argent." Really "Argent a fess between two chevrons gules," PEECHE.

(3) "Azure six fleurs de lys 3.2.1. argent a chief indented or." Really "Ermine on a chief indented gules three ducal coronets or," LEECHE.

(4) "Sable (or azure) a chevron argent (or or)." Really "Or on a chevron between three lions' heads erased gules as many bezants," SOMERTON.

(5) "Azure an inescutcheon within orle of martlets argent," WALCOT.

(6) "Gules a chevron between three birds argent." Really "Argent a chevron between three bears' heads couped at the neck muzzled or," BARREY.

(7) "Ermine a chief indented gules," HEINGRAVE.

(8) "Ermine a fess gules." Really "Argent a fess between two crescents gules," Watsam.

(9) "Argent a lion rampant guardant gules." Really "Azure a lion rampant guardant or," Hetherset or Hetherfield.

(10) "Sable a fess between two chevrons or," Gerbridge.

(11) "Azure (or sable) a chevron argent." Really "Argent on a chevron gules three fleurs de lys," Peever.

(12) "Azure a cross patty throughout or," Maltby.

Sinister shield:—

These are the 12 quarterings of Paston, some better and some worse than the above.

Centre shield:—

Cradock-Newton impaling the wrong Paston, as are also the five Pastons following.

Six shields:—

(1) Paston impaling Somerton.

(2) Cradock-Newton impaling Sherborne.

(3) Paston impaling Heingrave.

(4) Paston impaling Barrey.

(5) Paston impaling "Argent a cross engrailed sable."

(6) Paston impaling Maltby.

9. Inscription on the entablature at the back:—

"Here lyeth Sr. Henry Newton of Barrs Court in the County of Gloucester, Knight who Married Katherine, the Daughter of Sr. Thos. Paston of Norfolk, Knight, by whom He had 2 Sons and 4 daughters; and when He had Lived Full 70 Years Religiously towards God, Loyally towards his Prince, and Virtuously towards Men, ended his life in the Year of Grace 1599, in assured hope of a Glorious Resurrection."

"Gurney, Hampton, Cradock Newton last
Held on the measure of that antient line
Of Barons Blood: full Seventy years he past
And did in Peace his Sacred Soul Resign:
His Christ he Lov'd, he Lov'd to feed the Poor,
Such Love assures a Life, that Dies no more."

SIR HENRY NEWTON, died 1599, aged 70.

KATHERINE, his wife.

10. The features are painted flesh colour and the rest of the figures black with bits of the armour gilded. The cushions are in red. The paint is somewhat worn, especially of the female costume.

11. Both pairs of hands are broken off, also the feet of the male figure. The woman's features and the sword belt are injured, whilst the head-dress and gorget are chipped.

The tomb was repaired and beautified in 1748 at the expense of Mrs. Archer, of London, sister of the late Sir Michael Newton, of Barrs Court, Bitton, Gloucestershire.[1]

12. Placed on the south side of the Newton Chapel in the south choir aisle.

13. The effigies and tomb are referred to in all accounts of the Cathedral, but nowhere described.

The tomb is illustrated in *Herald and Genealogist*, vol. iv., p. 443.

14. The effigies are fairly well preserved. The alabaster figures on the tomb are beautifully sculptured and are in very good condition.

15. Sir Henry Newton was born in 1529, and was fourth in succession from the founder of the family, Judge Sir Richard Cradock (changed to Newton) through his father Sir John Newton, of Richmond Castle, in East Harptree, co. Somerset. Barrs Court came into the possession of the family through the marriage of a grandson of Judge Newton with Lucy Hampton, an heir of Lady Barre, and remained for generations. In 1580 Sir Henry purchased the handsome house in Bristol known as "St. Peter's Hospital," which was resold in 1602. The Newton coat of arms depicted on this tomb were first granted to Sir Henry's father in 1567.

Lady Newton was a daughter of Sir Thomas Paston, of Norfolk, who was knighted at Boulogne, and founded a branch from the Pastons of Oxnead.[2]

[1] Barrett, *History of Bristol*, p. 306.

[2] *Arch. Inst. Great Britain*, 1851, pp. 240-3; *Notes and Queries*, 1861, p. 399; Burke, *Extinct Baronetages; Somerset Arch. Trans.*, 1901.

1. Lady.
2. Recumbent effigy, now removed from its slab.
3. Stone.
4. Diminutive, about 4 ft. 3 in. long.
5. The figure is dressed in the costume of a lady of the early part of the seventeenth century. There is a moderate farthingale under a very full padded gown, which reaches to the feet. The bodice is tight-fitting, with a long pointed and pleated stomacher, to which is fastened a short full flounce falling over the hips. Round the waist is a narrow girdle tied in a bow at the bottom of the stomacher. The sleeves are padded and end at the wrists in small ruffles. At the throat there is a large full ruff over a plain square falling band, and on the head is the Paris hood, which partly conceals the short curly hair. Only the pointed toes of the shoes are visible below the gown. The eyes are open, and the arms are raised in the attitude of prayer. (Hands broken off.)
6. The head rests on two large square tasselled cushions, the top one ornamented with bands of scrollwork.
7. It is not known against what the feet formerly rested.
8. Only the disjointed parts remain of what was once a sumptuous monument. It consisted of an altar tomb with deeply-moulded corners bearing angels and having the recumbent effigy beneath a straight canopy, supported by black marble columns with Corinthian capitals, and a coat of arms over all.

Upon the basement (still preserved) are sculptured a row of "weepers," viz. figures of her children—four sons and four daughters. The inscription mentions nine children, but probably one of the sons died in childhood.

The children are represented kneeling on either side of a double reading-desk with open books on it. On the right are three sons and two daughters; the sons are in armour of the period, the details being well shown, and the daughters are dressed in costume similar to the mother, except that the stomacher is embroidered, the girdle jewelled and lace-edged

cuffs take the place of ruffles. On the left are one son and two daughters, who are dressed similarly to the others, except that the son has no sword, but hangers are suspended from the waist-belt. On two slabs, now detached, and formerly placed above the effigy on the back of the canopy, are coats of arms, surmounted by crests on esquires' helmets with mantling and wreaths.

First shield: "Lozengy argent and vert upon a bend (azure), three ibexs' heads erased or," YOUNG.

Crest: Ibex's head erased.

On an old print, similar to Browne Willis' "North Prospect of Bristol Cathedral," and dedicated to Sir John Young, the three ibex heads are shown on his coat of arms.

Second shield: Illegible. Traces of three pallets gules and a bordure.

Crest: Broken off.

9. Inscription on a loose slab, formerly placed above the effigy:—

"Here lyeth the bodies of Sir John Young, Knight, and Dame Joane, his wyfe. By him she had yssue, Sir Roberte, Jane and Margaret. She was first married to Sir Giles Straingewayes, Knight, by whome shee had yssue, John, Edward, George, Nicholas, Ann and Elizabeth. She was daughter to John Wadham Esquier, and shee departed this mortall lyfe the 14th June 1603 aged 70 yeeres."

DAME JOAN YOUNG, died 1603, aged 70.

10. The effigy was painted in natural colours, but the paint is now worn away.

11. The monument was pulled down in 1861, at the time of the remodelling of the Cathedral, and all that remains is the female effigy, broken in half, the front of the tomb, slabs bearing the inscription and coats of arms, and fragments of the canopy. The weepers are headless and much mutilated.

12. The broken pieces are placed against the walls of the east cloisters. The monument was erected by Samuel Baldwin, in 1606, in the south wall of the sanctuary, adjoining the altar, on the spot where Sir John and his wife were

buried. Beautiful sedilia were destroyed to make room for it.

13. Tomb and effigy are described by Sir John Maclean in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xv., p. 239. Tomb illustrated in Markland, *Remarks on English Churches*, 1842.

14. The remains of the monument are in a most neglected condition.

15. Sir John was the son of a wealthy merchant of Bristol, of an old and important family. Born about 1519, he succeeded to his father's estates when about fourteen years old. He appears not to have engaged in trade, or taken part in local affairs; but, having restored the "great house" (where Colston Hall now stands), he there entertained Queen Elizabeth in 1574, and was knighted by her. At the back of this house he erected the dwelling now known as "the Red Lodge," about 1590, but died a year before it was finished. The Lady Joan was a sister of the founder of Wadham College, Oxford, and, by her first husband, ancestress of the Earls of Ilchester.[1]

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1. Military. Knight in armour.
   Lady.
2. Kneeling effigies.
3. Freestone.
4. Diminutive.
5. Male costume:—

He wears a mixed suit of plate armour. The body is encased in a breastplate with tapul and a backplate; attached are light taces, to which are strapped long tuilles of almayne rivets over longer and very full-pleated trunk hose. The pauldrons are of heavy, overlapping plates, the coudes pointed, and the hinged vambraces covered at the wrists by cuffs. The thighs and legs are covered with hose and the feet with high boots, lying in soft folds about the legs, the

[1] *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xv., part ii., p. 239; Seyer, *Memoirs of Bristol*, vol ii., p. 245.

tops being large and stiff. The heels are high, and across the instep is a flap of leather with strapped rowel spurs.

About the neck is a turned-down ruff, and round the waist a narrow belt, and hooked to it on the right side and hanging loosely across the tuilles is a band or hanger, but no sign of a sword attached. All the parts of the armour have scalloped edges fastened on by rows of rivets, the heads of which form an additional ornamentation. The right hand is on the breast; the hair is short, as also the beard and moustache, with the eyes open.

Female costume:—

She wears the dress of the early part of the seventeenth century. A very full skirt over a modified farthingale reaches to the feet, and the bodice has rows of tucks at the sides with a long, pointed, plain stomacher. The plain padded sleeves have small epaulets and very wide cuffs. From the shoulders hangs a cloak in folds to the feet, surmounted by a very wide turn-down ruff. The curly hair is confined by a cap with a vandyked frill nearly hidden by a huge *hood à calèche*, which covers the head and shoulders. The right hand is on the breast and the left arm extended forwards. (The hand is broken off.)

Similar head-dress is shown on the brass of Elizabeth Marrowe, 1601, Clifford Chambers, Gloucestershire.

6.

7. Both figures are kneeling on square cushions, adorned with cord and tassels. Between them is a faldstool with two open books on the desk.

8. A very lofty and elaborate Jacobean mural monument, with small effigies of a man and woman kneeling *vis-à-vis* in a semicircular recess under a heavy canopy, the roof of which is adorned with crowns and cherubs. A small curtain, hung from the top, is held back by standing angels; one holds a clasped book and crown, the other a globe and skull. Under the figures is a long, narrow panel containing small kneeling "weepers," viz. seventeen children; in the centre

is a desk with open books, and on the right are eight male figures, all kneeling except the youngest, which is lying down. The first is dressed in armour similar to the man, and the remaining ones wear long cloaks over doublet and trunk hose.

On the left are:—

Nine female figures, all kneeling except the youngest, which is lying down. Amongst them is a curious effigy of two figures representing twins. All are dressed similarly to the woman, except they have no head-dresses, the hair being elaborately braided and rolled high off the forehead.

On rounded edge below are three shields, and the whole canopy is surmounted by the coat of arms:—

Quarterly 1st and 4th: "Argent, a fess embattled counter-embattled sable, fretty gules between three lioncels passant of the same," Codrington.

2nd: "Argent, a chevron between three escallops sable," Tregarthian.

3rd: "Sable, two glazier's nippers in saltire, between four pears or." (Should be, "Argent, two glazier's nippers in saltire sable, between four pears proper.") Kelleway.

The arms of Kelleway and Tregarthian are quartered because the mother of Sir Simon Codrington was Mary, daughter and co-heir of John Kelleway and Joan Tregarthian.[1]

First shield: Codrington, impaling—

Quarterly 1st and 4th: "Sable, on a bend or between 3 broad-arrows argent, as many oval buckles gules," Stubbs.

2nd and 3rd: "Lozengy argent and sable," (?).

Second shield: "Codrington," Codrington.

Third shield: "Argent, two squirrels sejant, addorsed gules," Samwell.

The last coat, though there in Barrett's time, before the renovation in 1841, cannot be original, belonging as it does to the wife of the grandson of the subject of the memorial.[2]

[1] *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xxi., part ii., p. 315.

[2] *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xxi., part ii., p. 324.

9. Latin inscription on the wall underneath the monument:—

"Generosis viro Dom Roberto Codrintoneo,
A Codrintonea, in comitatu Glocest. armigero,
atavorum imaginibus splendidissimo,
fidei morumque candore spectatissimo
Febr. 14° post incarnatum Deum 1618°.
Ætatis suæ 46° ex hoc vitæ ergastulo
emancipato; clarissima et charissima conjunx Dom[a]
Anna Codra ex qua 8 filios, filiasque 9 genuit.

Am et Hon } oris { ergo } Moni { mentum } Robertus Codrintoneus
Monu { posuit } Anagramma
Ore & Corde justus beor.

Plangite: discessi: quin plaudite vita beata
Est mihi cumque solo gratior, inque polo.
Hic mens, hic soboles, volitatque per æra vastum
Fama Codrintonei non moritura pii.
Os homini, Domino patuit cor, conscia recti,
Mens mihi, vel nullis contaminata malis.
Ore fui Justus, merces durabilis Aura
Corde fui Justus, (præmia magna) BEOR."

Browne Willis states that a further part of the inscription was defaced at the time of the renovation of the tomb in 1840.

Translation, the first part only:—[1]

"To the most noble Lord Robert Codrington, of Codrington in the county of Gloucester, renowned by the representations of his friends, and highly respected for his fidelity and uprightness of conduct. He was free'd from life's prison February 14th, 1618, aged 46. His excellent wife lady Anna Codrington begat him 8 sons and 9 daughters. In consequence of her tender affection and respect for him, she erected this tomb and monument."

ROBERT CODRINGTON, died 1618, aged 46.

ANNA, his wife.

He is usually described as a baronet, but this is in error.

[1] Pryce, *History of Bristol*, p. 135.

10. There is no sign of painting. Pryce (p. 135) states it was once painted with gold and colour. The coats of arms have been repainted.[1]

11. The left hand of the woman is broken off. The tomb was restored in 1840, as stated on an oblong panel above the canopy:

"Hoc monumentum avitum reficiend. et restaurand. pie curavit Bethel Codrington Baronetus MDCCCXL."

12. Placed at the east end of the north aisle of the choir. It hides the remains of a tabernacled reredos and altar defaced in Queen Elizabeth's time. The monument stood originally on the north side of the choir, east of Bishop Paul Bush's tomb, and is shown in this place on Barrett's ground plan of 1789, and on Britton's in 1830.[2]

It was removed in 1840 to its present place at the time of its restoration by Sir Bethel Codrington.[3]

13. No illustration is known.

14. The effigies are in a good state of preservation.

15. Robert was the eldest son of Sir Simon Codrington, who had added by marriage the estate of Didmarton to his manor of Codrington. He was educated at Winchester and Magdalen College, Oxford, and in 1583 married Anne Stubbs. Nothing is known of her parentage except she was said to be of a Norfolk family and an heiress. As Robert died before his father Simon, it was his son John who succeeded to the very large property and title; whilst another of his sons, Christopher, became the founder of the present Dodington family.[4]

1. Military. Knight in armour.
2. Effigy, reclining on left elbow.
3. Freestone, with alabaster columns.
4. Life-size, 6 ft. long.
5. The knight wears an entire suit of plate armour.

[1] *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xxi., part ii., p. 324.

[2] *Clifton Antiq. Club*, part xii., vol. iv., part iii., p. 232.

[3] Murray, *Bristol Cathedral*, p. 155.

[4] *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xxi., part ii., pp. 318, 323, 325, 333

The body is encased in a breastplate with tapul, and a backplate; attached to it by heavy riveted straps are long tuilles of almayne rivets reaching to the knees and strapped across full trunk hose. The pauldrons are of heavy overlapping plates, the coudes pointed, and the hinged vambraces are covered at the wrists by a wide lace-edged cuff.

The knees are protected by trefoil-shaped genouillères and the legs by hinged jambs, which meet, with heavy laminations, the broad-toed solerets with rowel spurs. At the neck is a falling band, edged with lace. Across the right shoulder is a folded scarf knotted on the left side, and to it is fastened a sword with handsome guard, which rests flat on the slab, the hilt being lightly clasped by the left hand.

All the parts of the armour have scalloped edges fastened on by rows of small rivets, the heads of which form an additional ornamentation. The right elbow rests on the hip, and the hand grasps a short truncheon. He has rather long hair, a pointed beard, and heavy upturned moustache, with eyes open and a refined expression.

6. The left elbow rests on a square tasselled cushion.

7. The feet rest on the slab only.

8. A raised tomb with semi-recumbent effigy beneath a recessed canopy, supported by two alabaster columns with Corinthian capitals. At the back is a large square-framed tablet with inscription, and to the left a bracket with a large peer's helmet and plumes. At the extreme sides of the tomb are two draped figures three feet in height; one holds a broken column, the other is in the act of pouring from an ewer to a chalice. The whole canopy is surmounted by the coat of arms and crest, and on either side are reclining draped figures, one holding a trumpet and an open book, inscribed "Canet Tuba enim," and the other an hour-glass and an asp coiled into a circle.

The front of the tomb is divided by three plain pilasters into two panels containing framed tablets with inscriptions.

The coat of arms and crest are:—

"Sable, a chevron between three children's heads affronté

couped at the shoulders argent, crined or, each enwrapped about the neck with a snake proper. Differenced with a label of 3 points," Vaughan.

Crest: On esquire's helmet, boy's head, as in arms.

The snake about the neck is said to have its origin from an old family legend.[1]

9. Latin inscription on back of canopy:—

"Sacrum
Memoriæ proinde et honori

viri prænobilis, cuius hic exuviæ repulverescunt Caroli Vaughani equitis aurati, filii et hæredis Gaulteri ordinis itidem equestris, ex antiquissima Vaughanorum Cambro-Britannorum prosapia oriundi, qui quadraginta circiter et septem annos in terris agens, postquam virtute suis præluxisset, eruditione doctissimis quibusques innotuisset, religione plerisque exemplo fuisset amorist coniugalisi specimen edidisset munera publica integerime obiisset res privatas sapienter composuisset ac animæ saluti imprimis consuluisset tandem marcore et phthisi confectus, mori desiit, Feabruarii die sexto decimo anno spei suæ nostrumq omnium per verbum carnem factum adsertæ millesimo sexcentesimo tricesimo M.D.C.XXX. Expecto donec veniat immutatio mea. Job xiiii.

OMNIA MUTANTUR NIHIL INTERIT."

Translation:—

"Sacred
to the memory and in honour of

a truly excellent man, whose remains lie mouldering here, Sir Charles Vaughan, Knight, and son and heir of Walter, also of equestrian rank. He was sprung from the very ancient British family of the Vaughans. He lived about forty-seven years, and after he had surpassed his contemporaries in excellence, in erudition the most learned, and those of whom he had learned, after he had been an example to most in religion, had afforded a pattern of conjugal affection, had discharged public duties most creditably; had wisely managed his private concerns, and above all consulted

[1] Dingley, *History from Marble* (Cambrian Society), p. 77.

his spiritual health, he at length died of a wasting consumption February 16th, *in the year of hope assured to him and to all of us by the Incarnate Word*, 1630.

'I wait until my change shall come,' Job xiv.
All things change, nothing perishes."[1]

Two Latin inscriptions in the tablets on front of tomb:—

First tablet:

"Uxores duxit primo Francisam filiam
Roberti Knolles, equitis aurati quæ
genere forma et virtute illustris
virum moribunda deseruit mortalem;
quo citius et Arctius Christo
frueretur vita vitali, ætatis
suæ anno vicesimo quarto
et redemptionis humanæ
M.D.C.XIIII."

Second tablet:

"Deinde Dorothea filiam Robertii
Melleri equitis aurati quæ
marito charissimo mœstia ac
(ni Deus voluisset) invita superstes
monumentum hoc quale vides ad
memoriam eius quam fieri potest
diutissime conservandum propriis
sumptibus poni curavit."

Translation:—

"He married first Frances, daughter of Sir Robert Knolles, Knight. She was distinguished for her family, her beauty, and her excellence, but still being mortal she departed this life (by which means she the sooner and more closely enjoyed eternal life with Christ) in the 24th year of her age, 1614."

"He next married Dorothy, daughter of Sir Robert Meller, Knight. She laments her excellent husband, and would not willingly have survived him had not God so ordered it. She took care to have this monument which you

[1] Pryce, *History of Bristol*, p. 134.

see, erected at her own expense, to preserve his memory as long as possible."

SIR CHARLES VAUGHAN, died 1630, aged 47.

10. The effigy is painted buff colour. Pryce states it was richly gilded.

11. There are no mutilations.

12. Placed against the east wall of the lay clerks' vestry, where it was erected since 1867. It stood formerly against the south wall of the north choir aisle, whence it was taken down in 1861.[1]

13. Sketched in 1660–85 and published in Dingley, *History from Marble* (Cambrian Society), p. 77.

14. The effigy is in very good condition.

15. The epitaph of Sir Charles Vaughan states all that is known about him personally.

There are tablets to members of the same family dated 1701 in the Lord Mayor's Chapel, Bristol.

1. Military. Knight in armour.

2. Recumbent effigy.

3. Freestone.

4. Life-size, 6 ft. long.

5. The figure wears a complete suit of plate armour. The body is encased in a breastplate with tapul, and a backplate. Attached is a light skirt of taces, to which are fastened by heavy straps and buckles short jointed tuilles, over a rather longer and full-pleated trunk hose. The pauldrons are of heavy overlapping plates ornamented with scroll work; the coudes are pointed and the hinged vambraces are covered at the wrists by lace-edged cuffs.

On the under part of the thighs is hose, and on the upper part articulated cuisses strapped on; at the knees are trefoiled genouillères, and on the legs hinged jambs, which meet very heavy laminated and broad-toed solerets. Rowel spurs are fastened to the heels.

Round the throat is a gorget of overlapping plates, and above it a folded neckcloth tied in a full knot in front.

[1] Leversage, *Hist. of Bris. Cathedral*, p. 85.

Round the waist is a narrow belt, and fastened to it near the centre and hanging loosely across the tuilles is a broader band. To it on the left side are attached very broad hangers to hold the sword. In this case the short cross-hilt sword lies flat on the slab, and is lightly clasped by the left hand. All the parts of the armour have scalloped edges fastened on.

The right hand is thrust forward and probably clasped at some time a truncheon, but it has disappeared, and a wooden stick now takes its place. The hair falls in long curls to the shoulders with a small moustache and open eyes.

6. The head and shoulders rest on a large square cushion adorned with cord and large tassels.

7. The feet rest on the slab only.

8. A high and wide altar tomb under a heavy and massively decorated Elizabethan canopy. The front is plain with clustered pilasters at the corners bearing a slab with recumbent effigy. Two twisted columns with Corinthian capitals support the architrave with a corbel and crowned Death's head in the centre, and with its roof decorated by carvings. At the back are two richly carved arched recesses containing tablets with inscriptions, and the whole is surmounted by the crest and coat of arms, with two children in place of supporters:—

"Argent, on a chevron azure three garbes or," NEWTON.

"Parte per pale or and gules, an eagle displayed with two heads, sable." Really "Also per pale azure and of the first." STONE.

Crest: Moorish king proper crowned or, kneeling and delivering up his sword of the first hilted of the second.

9. Inscription on first tablet on back of canopy:—

"Here lieth the Body of
Sr. John Newton,
Son of Sr. Theodore Newton
& his Lady Grace, Daughter of
—— Stone Esq: who died
without issue
1661."

On second tablet :—

"He was a Man
of Great Courage,
& the Greatest Loyalty to his Prince
an Honour to his Country
A Credit & Noble Ornament
to his Name and Family."

SIR JOHN NEWTON, died 1661.

10. The effigy is painted black; all ornamentation profusely gilded; the straps of the armour and the cushion red, and the features flesh colour. Much of the carving on the canopy is gilded, including the capitals.

11. The right arm and hand are broken and insecurely repaired; half of the right shoulder is cut away and the nose is mutilated. The tomb was repaired and beautified in 1748 at the expense of Mrs. Archer, of London, sister of the late Sir Michael Newton, of Barrs Court, Bitton, Gloucestershire.[1]

12. Placed on the south side of the Newton Chapel in the south aisle.

13. No description is known.

14. The effigy is in a good state of preservation.

15. Sir John Newton was a grandson of Sir Henry Newton in the adjoining tomb. He was created a baronet by Charles II. in 1660, and at that time was pressing a claim to rights over Kingswood Forest, which adjoined his estates, and he offered terms of settlement to the King just before his death. On the occasion of the burial of his mother in St. Peter's Church, Bristol, on February 13th, 1655, Sir John invited so many friends to the funeral that there was a riot, and a political question arose out of their actions. He died without issue, and the title with the Barrs Court estates passed to a distant relative, John Newton, of Lincolnshire, who lies buried in Bitton Church.[2]

[1] Barrett, *History of Bristol*, p. 306.

[2] Burke, *Extinct Baronetages*; Latimer, *Annals of Bristol, 17th Century*, pp. 260, 303.

LORD MAYOR'S CHAPEL—Dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Mark.

1. Military. Knight in armour.
2. Recumbent effigy, cross-legged above the knee.
3. Stone.
4. More than life-size, 7 ft. long.
5. The knight is enveloped from head to foot in an entire suit of chain mail. A hauberk with long sleeves and mittens reaches to the middle of the leg and is cut up a little in front, the coif or hood being of the same piece. Chausses of mail cover the legs and feet, and plain prick spurs are attached by buckled straps. Over the hauberk is worn a long, loose, flowing surcoat, sleeveless and fastened on the left shoulder by a row of small buttons. It is open at the bottom half-way to the waist, where it is secured by a narrow belt or cingulum, barred and buckled, the end hanging down loose. From the back of this belt two very broad-banded straps are brought forward and buckled loosely together across the hips, to support obliquely on the left side a broad, heavy sword with cross hilt. The scabbard is ornamented with bands, and the arms of the guard are slightly curved towards the point. The left hand holds the scabbard, whilst the right sheathes the sword. A dagger, or misericorde, slants obliquely under the right arm through a loop on the waist-belt.
6. The head rests on two large square pillows. The top one has rounded corners and is set diagonally.
7. The feet rest on a long-tailed hound, standing up with its forelegs extended forward and crossed. It has a plain collar.
8. A low, plain stone tomb supports the slab and effigy. Alongside of it on the same tomb is the effigy of his nephew, Robert de Gourney.
9. On the bevelled edge of the stone slab, engraved in well-formed Old English characters, added at a later date, is a portion of an inscription:—

"Mauritius · de · Gaunt · hujus · loci · fundator · obiit · mccxxx."

MAURICE DE GAUNT, died 1230.

10. The effigy has not been painted, but the right side of the slab shows traces of a painted inscription.

11. The features are much worn. The hound's paws have been restored.

12. Placed on the floor of the south aisle chapel. It originally stood in the north transept, but when this was destroyed it was removed in 1591 to the upper end of the chancel.[1] From thence it was removed to its present position at an unknown date. It is a "memorialle" and not a tomb.

13. Illustrated and described by Mrs. Bagnall-Oakley in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xv., part i., p. 89. Described by Colonel Bramble, *Proc. Clifton Ant. Club*, vol. i., p. 42. Illustrated in Skelton, *Antiquities of Bristol*, plate x.

14. It is a splendid effigy of a knight in early armour, and well preserved in all parts except the features.

15. Maurice de Gaunt was son of Robert de Were, and grandson of Robert Fitzharding, the founder of St. Augustine's Abbey, Bristol. He himself founded the Hospital of St. Mark's, Billeswick, and the Dominican Priory in Rosemary Street, Bristol, where he was buried in 1230. He was a baron and peer of the realm.[2]

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1. Military. Knight in armour.
2. Recumbent effigy, cross-legged above the knee.
3. Stone.
4. More than life-size, 7 ft. long.
5. The knight is enveloped from head to foot in an entire suit of chain mail. A hauberk reaches to the middle of the leg, and is cut up a little at the bottom. The long sleeves end in a point beyond the wrist, and the hands are apparently uncovered and show the fingers. The coif de mailles is not

[1] W. R. Barker, *St. Mark's*, p. 77.

[2] Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, vol. i., p. 52; *Proc. of Arch. Inst., York*, i., p. 80, quoted in *Bristol, Past and Present*, vol. ii., p. 180.

continuous with the hauberk, but is in the form of a flat, circular cap, laced to it above the ears, although the method is not shown. The hauberk itself is laced on the left side from the coif to the shoulder. Chausses of mail cover the legs and feet, and plain prick spurs are attached by straps. Over the hauberk is worn a long, loose-flowing surcoat, sleeveless, folded about the body and open from the waist downwards. It is fastened on the left shoulder and girded about the waist with a narrow belt or cingulum, buckled, with its end hanging down loose under the sword as far as the knee. High on the hips, and rather loose, is another narrow belt, from which hangs on the left side, almost perpendicularly, a long sword, the cross guard having depressed ends. On the left arm is carried a heater-shaped shield, the guige or strap by which it is fastened passing across the right shoulder. The left hand is folded on the breast, whilst the right touches the top of the shield.

6. The head rests on two small, square pillows, the top one set diagonally.

7. The feet rest on a small lion.

8. The low tomb is of plain stone, on which is placed the slab bearing this effigy, as well as that of his uncle, Maurice de Gaunt.

9. On the inner side of the slab, not now to be seen, is an ancient painted inscription, "Robertus de Gourney" (remainder indistinct).

ROBERT DE GOURNEY, died 1269.[1]

The identification is perhaps incorrect, as the armour shows that the effigy belongs to about 1299.

10. The effigy shows no traces of any colouring.

11. The features are defaced, and the shield. The thumb and a finger of the right hand are worn away, and the folds of the surcoat are very much chipped.

12. Placed on the floor of the South Aisle Chapel. It originally stood in the north transept, but when this was destroyed it was removed in 1591 to the upper end of the

[1] Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, vol. i., p. 53.

chancel.[1] Thence it was removed at some time to its present position. It is a "memorialle," and not a tomb.

13. Illustrated and described by Mrs. Bagnall-Oakley in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xv., part i., p. 90. (Date of death wrongly engraved.) Described by Colonel Bramble in *Proc. Clifton Ant. Club*, vol. i., p. 42. Illustrated in Skelton, *Antiquities of Bristol*, plate x.

14. The effigy is worn, but otherwise is a fine example.

15. Robert de Gourney was second son of Robert Fitzharding, heir to his uncle Maurice de Gaunt, and joint founder with him of the Hospital of St. Mark's, Billeswick, Bristol. He married Hawisia of Longchamp, who bore him one son, Anselme; she died in the same year as her husband, 1269.[2]

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1. Civilian.
2. Recumbent effigy.
3. Stone.
4. Life-size, 5 ft. 8 in. long.
5. The figure is clothed in the costume worn by a civilian in the middle of the fourteenth century, and is an interesting example. A close-fitting cote-hardie, or sleeveless cote, reaches from the neck to the middle of the thighs. It is laced all the way down in front, but more loosely at the top, to show an undervest or doublet, also visible on the thighs, with tight-fitting sleeves to the wrists. The cote is continued upwards in the form of a light hood, which is thrown back on either side of the neck. The legs are covered with tight hose and the feet with short boots, strapped across and open in front with tongues of the same material. Over the shoulders and forearms is a loosely-hanging mantle reaching to the feet, and fastened across the breast by two laces passed through eyelet holes and secured by a long bow or knot on the left side. A girdle confines the cote, and is buckled on the right side, with a loose end hanging down; through it, on the

[1] W. R. Barker, *St Mark's*, p. 77.
[2] Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, vol. i., p. 53.

left side, is thrust a dagger. The hair is closely curled round the head, and the face is clean shaven. The eyes are open, and the face and figure appear to be youthful. The hands are bare and clasped in prayer.

6. The head rests on two square tasselled pillows, the top one set diagonally.

7. The feet rest on a dog lying on a stool.

8. A high tomb in a recess, with an ogee-shaped crocketed arch terminating in a handsome finial. The front has four square panels bearing a small shield without heraldic charges, and similar single panels at each end. The tomb is of more recent construction, being of late Perpendicular work and made of different stone from the effigy, the slab of which overlaps it.

9. An inscription on the front edge of the slab, seemingly added at a comparatively recent date, reads :—

"✠ Henricus · de · Gaunt ✠ magister · primus · hujus · domus · sancti · marci · de billeswyck ✠ obiit mcclxviii.✠"

Supposed to be A MERCHANT, died about 1360.

The inscription engraved on the slab, ascribing the effigy to Sir Henry de Gaunt, must have been placed there in error, because, on the authority of Mr. Albert Hartshorne, the date of the effigy is clearly about 1360. Moreover, the head is not that of an ecclesiastic, but of a franklen or merchant. The error, however, is of great antiquity, because as far back as 1591 there is an entry in the Bristol Corporation Accounts of payment for removing "the great tombs of the three Founders of the Gaunts." The three founders here referred to are Maurice de Gaunt, Robert de Gourney, and Henry de Gaunt.[1]

10. The effigy was coloured at some time a dull red, but the paint is now nearly worn away.

11. The features are much worn, the dagger is mutilated, and the edges of the flowing mantle are chipped.

12. Nothing is known of any previous position of the

[1] W. R. Barker, *St. Mark's*, p. 77.

effigy. Since it does not represent Sir Henry de Gaunt, the assumption that this effigy was removed from the north transept to the chancel in 1591 does not apply, nor is there any connection between it and Leland's statement that Sir Henry de Gaunt was interred in "the vesturye under a flat stone," *i.e.* in the same south aisle where the present effigy now rests.

13. Illustrated and described by Mrs. Bagnall-Oakley in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xv., part i., p. 91. Illustrated in Skelton, *Antiquities of Bristol*, plate x.

14. The surface of the effigy is worn away.

15. Nothing is known of this unnamed merchant.

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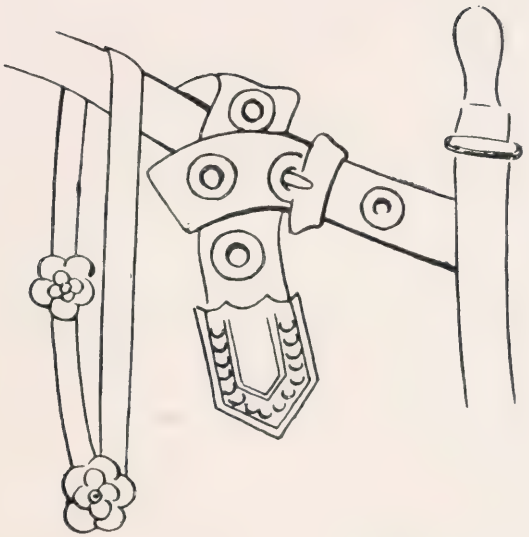
1. Military. Knight in armour.
   Lady.
2. Recumbent effigies.
3. Stone.
4. Life-size, 5 ft. 6 in. long.
5. The male costume consists of a complete suit of plate armour without any chain. The body is encased in a metal breastplate and backplate, to which is attached a light skirt of taces, pointed in front and with four pointed tuilles buckled to it. The head is covered by a helmet or salade with a peak at the back to protect the neck and a raised visor and mentonière. The throat is covered by a gorget, and the shoulders by pauldrons, which meet and partly cover the epaulières; and there are brassarts and vambraces front and back, hinged and strapped. The coudes are very large with rayed points, and are riveted to the vambraces. The hands are encased in gauntlets of plate, not divided at the fingers, and having pointed cuffs. The legs are cased front and back with hinged cuissarts and jambs and very large genouillères with pointed rays. On the feet are pointed solerets with straps and rowel spurs. Somewhat below the waist and dropping down a little in front is a broad belt, from which is

suspended upright a long large sword on the left side. The belt is buckled in front, and the end, decorated with metal, forms a loop. The hilt of the sword is pear-shaped, and the scabbard marked with decorated bands. Suspended from the same belt on the right side is a short narrow belt decorated with two roses, but without any weapon attached to it. This appears to be the subsidiary waist-belt. It is a curious and interesting example. A similar non-use of this belt is shown on the effigy of Lord Montacute, Salisbury, 1389. Close round the neck is a collar of alternate suns and roses, being the official collar or badge of the House of York, with plain locket hanging from the centre. The hands are in the attitude of prayer, the eyes open, and the expression placid. The feet are placed wide apart in a manner not uncommon at this period.

The female costume is of the latter part of the fifteenth century. A long-waisted gown falls in graceful folds to the feet; the bodice is tight-fitting and worn open to the waist to show a square-cut stomacher; the sleeves are close-fitting and extend to the wrists. Over it is a wide collar, the ends of which are united below the waist, and are kept in place by a broad plain belt. Close round the neck is a necklace of square open links with a pendent cross. The head-dress is very curious: a veil falls at the back of the head, and is confined over the forehead by a stiff band with sides or lappets hiding the ears. It is probably the kind of cap worn under the "steeple" head-dress, a covering which became fashionable in England about 1467. The feet are covered with pointed shoes; the hands are bare and clasped in the attitude of prayer. The eyes are closed, and the expression is placid. Similar costume and head-dress are shown on the effigy of the wife of Thomas Mede, 1475, St. Mary Redcliffe Church, Bristol.

6. Under the male head is a crested helm highly decorated and encircled in the middle by an heraldic wreath. On the top is a mitre having infulæ with divided ends pendent from it.



SUBSIDIARY WAIST-BELT.

Under the female head is a square pillow, supported by two small angels resting their hands on the head and neck.

7. The male feet rest on a small hound lying stretched out, its head raised, and a wide collar round its neck.

The female feet rest against a stool, and are supported by two fawning "small hounds."

8. High altar tomb, under what is known as a Berkeley arched canopy. The front is ornamented with eight crocketed niches and pinnacles, and under the soffit is a row of four-leaved flowers. The crocketed arch of the canopy is ogee in form, and is carried up above the lofty cresting, terminating in a very handsome finial. The arch is doubly foliated, the wide curves of the cinquefoils containing sunk trefoils and flowers, whilst the cusps are finished with demi-angels. Above the arch is another row of eight crocketed niches and pinnacles, the centre one combined to bear escutcheons with lion supporters. Above is a cornice of vine leaves and fruit, then a narrow soffit of leaves, and above a crest of openwork leaves and stems, finished at the ends with short pinnacles. At each side of the monument are moulded pillars banded at the middle with three decorated pinnacles at the top. The vault of the canopy is panelled in diamonds with quatrefoil cusps. The back and sides are lined with foliated panels, the centre one having a bracket on which once stood a figure above the effigies.

The arms are:—

FIRST ESCUTCHEON. Quarterly, 1st: "Gules a chevron ermine between ten crosses pattee argent, 4.2.1.2.1.," BERKELEY OF STOKE GIFFORD. 2nd: "Or a saltire engrailed sable," BUTTETORT. 3rd: "Or two lions passant guardant sable," SOMERY. 4th: "Gules ten bezants, 4.3.2.1., a label of three points argent," ZOUCH.

SECOND ESCUTCHEON. Quarterly, 1st: "Gules a chevron ermine between ten crosses pattee argent, 4.2.1.2.1.," BERKELEY OF STRATTON. 2nd: "Gules a chevron between ten crosses pattee, 4.2.1.2.1., within bordure argent," BERKELEY OF BEVERSTONE. 3rd: "Paly of six or and azure," GOURNEY.

4th: "Azure three bars paly or and azure a bend gules," GAUNT. (Should be "Barry of six or and azure a bend gules.") Impaling "Or a saltire engrailed sable," BUTTETORT.

9. There is no inscription.

(*a*) Supposed to be Sir MAURICE BERKELEY, of Uley or Stoke Gifford, died 1464, aged 64, and his wife, ELLEN, died after 1475.[1]

(*b*) Supposed to be Sir THOMAS DE BERKELEY, of Uley, died 1361, and KATHERINE, his wife, died 1387.[2]

The effigies must represent members of the Berkeley family because of the mitre on the tilting helmet. Modern research shows that the figures are sculptured in costumes of the period 1465-70, and the canopy is of the same period, matching the adjoining one built at the same time by Bishop Salley.

(*a*) The points in favour of the effigies being those of Sir Maurice Berkeley, of Uley, and his wife, are: He was a very wealthy and important member of the Berkeley family at the period corresponding to the costumes. The Yorkish badge of suns and roses would have been appropriate to his time. He is said by Dallaway to have been the patron of the Gaunts' Hospital by descent from the founders through his grandfather, Sir Thomas, of Uley. He was usually described as Sir Maurice, of Stoke Gifford, and inherited in his youth many large manors from the Buttetort family, and so might have brought into prominence their arms. He was presumably an important person in Bristol, as his son and heir was described amongst other aliases as Sir William Berkeley, of Bristol.

When Bishop Salley built the chancel of the church and placed his own tomb in the north-east corner, in the usual position for the builder, he may well have added a second tomb for the patron as required to finish off his design.[3]

(*b*) These effigies are ascribed to Sir Thomas, of Uley,

[1] Dallaway, *Notices of Ancient Church Architecture*, p. 28.
[2] *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xv., part i., p. 98.
[3] Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, vol. i., pp. 259-62.

and his wife, by Barrett,[1] in 1789, and he describes as existing on the tomb two shields, one charged with the arms of Berkeley, of Stoke Gifford, quartered with Buttetort, and the other with those of Gourney, and it seems plain he was repeating the prevalent idea as to their identity. The attempt to reconcile the costumes of more than one hundred years after their deaths, by thinking the effigies were erected to them that length of time afterwards, breaks down, because the Yorkist badge would not have been placed on the knight who lived at a period so distant.

10. The escutcheons only are painted, and according to Dallaway these were blank about 1823. Barrett states they bore charges about 1789.

11. Both effigies are chipped in a few places; the demi-angels on the canopy are very worn, and in some cases partly broken off. The knight's nose and dog's muzzle have been restored. The scabbard of the sword is modern and of different stone.

12. Placed in a recess on the north side of the chancel. The effigies and tomb are supposed to have been erected about 1500, at the time the chancel was rebuilt by Bishop Salley, and complete his design of that part.

13. Described and illustrated by Mrs. Bagnall-Oakley in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xv., part i., p. 98 (male figure), and in vol. xvi., part i., p. 121 (female figure.) Tomb illustrated in Skelton, *Antiquities of Bristol*, plate vii., and in W. R. Barker, *St. Mark's*, p. 164.

14. The effigies are in very good condition.

15. (*a*) Sir Maurice Berkeley, of Uley, was born posthumously in 1400, and his trustees recovered for his benefit many of the manors that belonged to his grandfather, as well as many from the Buttetort family. In 1422 Sir Maurice took charge of his possessions, and after a visit to France he married Ellen (not otherwise described) and settled down, living mostly in Worcestershire. From this time he is usually described as "of Stoke Gifford." He died in 1464,

[1] *History of Bristol*, p. 350.

leaving his wife alive and three sons, William, Thomas and Maurice. He was possessed of great wealth in land, and seemingly fell into disgrace several times with his king, Edward IV.[1]

(*b*) This Sir Thomas de Berkeley is described to be of "Uley," and was not a direct Lord Berkeley but a cousin-german of Maurice IV., ninth Lord Berkeley. He was a son of Sir Maurice Berkeley, baronet (who was second son of Maurice III., seventh Lord Berkeley, and died at the siege of Calais, 1346), and Marjory, his wife (daughter and heir of Sir Maurice Berkeley, of Uley, and deceased 1350). Sir Thomas was born about 1334, and married Katherine, daughter of John, Lord Buttetort, and died in 1361, leaving a son, Maurice, of Uley, three years old. He was with Edward III. at Poictiers, and again in later years. He inherited immense wealth in land from his father, but four years afterwards a large portion was taken away from him by the king and restored for a time to the original owners. Katherine, his widow, afterwards married Sir John de Thorpe, and died in 1387.[2]

NOTE.—Thomas III., eighth Lord Berkeley, likewise died in 1361, and had married a wife named Katherine. Their effigies are in Berkeley Church.

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1. Ecclesiastical. Bishop.
2. Recumbent effigy.
3. Stone.
4. Life-size.
5. The figure is clothed in episcopal vestments for the celebration of the Mass. He wears a plain alb, which has tight sleeves and nearly covers the feet; next are the plain tunic and the dalmatic with its ample sleeves; last, the plain chasuble, and the amice falling like a hood, or collar, over it.

[1] Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, vol. i., pp. 259-62.

[2] Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, vol. i., pp. 245, 254, 256-7, as quoted in W. R. Barker, *St. Mark's*, pp. 168-70.

The maniple is only faintly indicated amongst the folds of the chasuble. On the head is the precious mitre with its very rich ornaments, and the feet are in bishop's sandals with pointed toes. The hands are joined in prayer and covered with gloves jewelled on the back, and outside is a ring above the first joint of the third finger of the right hand. A pastoral staff of singular elegance rests within the left arm, with the crook turning outwards and veiled with the sudarium twisted round it. Curly hair is visible beneath the mitre, the face is clean shaven and benign in expression, and the eyes are open.

6. The head rests on two large, square, tasselled pillows, the top one set diagonally.

7. The feet rest against a small dog lying on a cushion.

8. A high altar tomb under a canopy, with arched front. The tomb has fifteen small, narrow, cusped panels, and under the soffit is a row of quatrefoils; the arch has many cusps, richly finished with Tudor ornaments, and in the spandrels roses are within cusped circles; the frieze is of vine leaves and fruit, the cornice is an open colonnade, and the projecting crest consists of alternate Tudor flowers and diminutive pinnacles, festooned together and backed by a band of quatrefoils; the vaulting is of diamonds tri-cusped, and the back and sides are divided into cusped panels.

9. There is no inscription. A long, narrow matrix at the back of the canopy shows where the name was inserted.

Known to be Bishop Miles Salley, died 1516.[1]

10. There are traces of red painting on the effigy.

11. The nose has been restored and the monument has been recently cleaned. The dog's muzzle is also restored.

12. Placed on the north side of the chancel nearest the east end.

13. Effigy is described by Mrs. Bagnall-Oakley in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. ix., part i., p. 61. Tomb illustrated in Skelton, *Antiquities of Bristol*, plate vii.

14. The monument is now in very good condition.

[1] *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. ix., part i., p. 61.

15. Miles Salley was Abbot of Abingdon, then of Eynsham, near Oxford, and, lastly, Bishop of Llandaff. He is said to have reconstructed the east end of St. Mark's Church, and erected his tomb there, with that of the Berkeleys, before his death. His heart was buried in the chancel of Mathern Church, near Chepstow. He also left effects to furnish the chapel.[1]

1. Lady.
2. Kneeling effigy.
3. Stone.
4. Diminutive, about 2 ft. 7 in. high.
5. She wears the dress of the latter part of the sixteenth century. A very full skirt over a modified farthingale falls about the feet; its bodice is tight fitting, tucked at the sides, and having padded sleeves and a plain, pointed stomacher. Round the bottom of the bodice is a belt studded with jewels, crossed in front and fastened with a brooch, the ends decorated with "aiglets," or metal tags. From the shoulders hangs a long flowing mantle gathered into a plain yoke, and above is a round, stand-up ruff. On the head is the Paris head-dress, with a close-fitting cap beneath. The arms are in the attitude of prayer, but the hands are broken off.
6.
7. The figure kneels on a square cushion.
8. A monument attached to the wall, with a kneeling effigy within a narrow arched canopy, the roof of which is adorned with a row of foliated rosettes, and the spandrels and pilasters with carvings. Above is a long, narrow panel with an inscription, and the whole is surmounted by a small shield with the coat of arms: "Chequy sable and or, a fess gules," WYNTER. (Named on the authority of Papworth and Burke's *Armory*.) On the wall under the monument is a winged Death's head.
9. Inscription on panel above the canopy:—

"Here lyeth the body of Elizabeth James, late wiefe

[1] Pryce, *History of Bristol*, p. 147

of Frauncis James, Doctor of the Civill Lawe; a woman for her excellent vertue and singuler wisdom to be equalled by few of her sex. As she lived very religiously and Godly so she died ye first of May, A° 1599.

Clarissimae conjugi posuit superstes maritus."

Elizabeth James, died 1599.

10. The figure has been painted black and the canopy dark brown.

11. The hands are broken off.

12. Placed against the north wall of the south aisle chapel. Barrett[1] states it was formerly on the wall of the chancel above the tombs of Sir Thomas Berkeley and Bishop Salley.

13. No illustration is known.

14. The effigy is in very fair condition.

15. All that is known of the history of Elizabeth James is that she was the first wife of Francis James, Chancellor of the Diocese of Bath and Wells. There is a monument to him and his second wife in the church at Barrow Gurney, Somerset.

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1. Military. Knight in armour.

2. Recumbent effigy.

3. Alabaster.

4. Life-size, 6 ft. long.

5. He wears a complete suit of plate armour of the period about 1604, without any engraving. There are breastplate with tapul, and a backplate, with light taces and short tassets, or jointed tuilles, strapped on over shorter pleated trunk hose. The pauldrons are of heavy, overlapping plates, with hinged vambraces and large coudes (now cut off). There are cuisses having pointed articulations strapped on over the upper parts of the thighs, with plain hose beneath; and blunt, heart-shaped genouillères, with

[1] *History of Bristol*, p. 350.

hinged jambs meeting heavy laminated and very broad-toed solerets. Round the throat is a large gorget, somewhat resembling a ruff; at the wrists are wide cuffs, plain and turned back from an under-garment; and round the waist is a narrow, ornamented belt, with another ornamented strap passing loosely across the tassets; to both of them, on the left side, is attached a form of pouch, now much mutilated, through the fastenings of which there would have been a sword (now removed). All the parts of the armour have scalloped edges fastened on by rows of rivets, the heads of which form an additional ornamentation. The hands are bare, and raised from the body in the attitude of prayer. The hair is cut short and also the beard, trimmed to a point, with a small moustache. The eyes are open, and the expression shows refinement.

Similar costume is shown on the effigy of Sir Henry Newton, 1599, Bristol Cathedral.

6. The head and shoulders rest on a large, square, ornamental cushion, with tassels at the corners.

7. The feet are close together, and rest on the slab only.

8. A plain, stone altar tomb. There is no niche or canopy about the figure, but on the wall above is a monumental slab, with Corinthian pillars of coloured marble. In the centre is an inscription, and the whole is surmounted by the Arms of Berkeley of Stoke Gifford, viz. "Gules on a chevron between ten crosses pattee argent, 4.2.1.2.1., three ermine spots sable."

9. Inscription on the entablature:—

"Domini · Rich · Berkelaei · Militis · in · suam mortem · carmen · monitorium

Cum genus et nomen cupiunt cognoscere cuncti,
Mentem nemo · si quis qui sim inquirere pergat,
Nescio responde · verum hunc se nosse moneto."

TRANSLATION.

"An ode of Lord Richard Berkeley, by profession a soldier, monitory of his death. Though all men may desire to know

my name, yet no man (may desire to know) my mind. If anyone should take up the enquiry as to whom I am, reply, I know not; but let that man be advised to know himself.[1]"

EPITAPH.

"Whom youth could not corrupt, nor change of dayes
Add anything but years, he, full of them
As they of knowledge, what need this stone prayse
Whose epitaph is writt in the heartes of men,
That did this world and her child Fame despise,
His soule with God, loe here his coffin lyes.

Obiit
Aprilis · XXVI. · Ano Domini · 1604.
Aetatis suae
71."

SIR RICHARD BERKELEY OF STOKE GIFFORD, died 1604, aged 71.

10. There is no sign of painting.

11. The left elbow and outer half of the pouch have been completely cut away to fit into the wall in its former position. Bits of ornamentation are worn off, and the nose has been restored.

12. Placed at the west end, on the right side of entrance. This was its original position, but at some time it was removed to the left side of the entrance, and was brought back again at the last restoration in 1888-9.[2]

13. Illustrated by Mrs. Bagnall-Oakley in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xv., part i., p. 101.

14. The effigy is in very good condition.

15. This Sir Richard Berkeley belonged to the Stoke Gifford branch of the family, and was born about 1531. He was a ward of the king's in his early youth, and was knighted by Queen Elizabeth about the eleventh year of her reign (1568); later he was made Lieutenant of the Tower of London. He held the office of High Sheriff and Deputy-Lieutenant of the County of Gloucester, and sat for the first

[1] Pryce, *History of Bristol*, p. 148.
[2] *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xv., part i., p. 101.

Parliament of King James. He appears also to have been a writer of books. He was twice married, leaving a son and four daughters.[1]

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1. Military. Esquire in armour.

2. Effigy, reclining on the right side.

3. Stone.

4. Life-size, 6 ft. long.

5. The figure is clothed in an entire suit of plate armour of the period (1608). The body is encased in a breastplate, with tapul, and a backplate strapped to it; below being buckled on long tuilles of almayne rivets over short pleated trunk hose. On the arms are large pauldrons, pointed coudes, and hinged brassarts. The legs are encased in cuisses, with pointed articulations, oval-shaped genouillères, and hinged jambs, meeting square-toed solerets, with rowel spurs. Round the neck is a ruff, with small ruffles at the wrists. The whole suit is profusely engraved, and is strengthened by having a scalloped edge riveted on. A narrow belt buckled round the waist has a band hooked on to it on the right side, and brought loosely across the tassets to the left side, but without a sword attached. The hair is cut short and worn high on the temples, with a pointed beard and small moustache. The eyes are open. The right hand supports the head, whilst the left is placed on the hip.

6. The right elbow rests on a large, oblong cushion, the ends of which have an ornamented band with tassels at the corners.

7. Beneath the feet is a kneeling war-horse, with trappings (mutilated), being the Upton crest.

8. The effigy lies on a raised tomb, under a high canopy of Jacobean style. The front of the tomb is rounded and decorated with festoons of ribbon and fruit. The canopy is formed of two plain pillars, with Corinthian capitals; across these is a plain entablature, and above is the escutcheon,

[1] Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, vol. i., pp. 263-4.

and a small shield on either side. The back of the canopy has a high, shallow arch, with escutcheons in the spandrels, and a large, oblong, inscribed tablet in the centre, having an elaborate frame, adorned with four black glass bosses.

The heraldry is as follows:—

Escutcheon, quarterly, 1st and 6th: "Sable cross moline or," Upton. 2nd: "Gules three covered cups, 2 and 1 or," (?) Pincerna. 3rd: "Or two bars gules, in chief three torteaux," Moels or Mules. 4th: "Or a chevron sable, in chief a trefoil slipped vert," Trelany or Trelawny. 5th: "Or two bars dancetty between three billets sable," Blerick.

Note.—The correct Arms of the families named are:—

1st and 6th: The "or" should be "argent," Upton. 2nd: "Azure three cups covered, 2 and 1 argent," Carnegie. (See Devon Visitation, 1620.) 3rd: The "or" should be "argent," Moels or Mules. 4th: The "or" should be "argent," Trelawny. 5th: "Sable two bars argent between three bees (may be bats), volant or," Blerick.

Small Shields:—

"Sable cross moline or," Upton

Crest on a Peer's helmet, with mantling:—

"On a ducal coronet or, a war-horse passant sable, trappings of the first."

9. The inscription on the mural tablet is:—

"Memoriæ æternæ.

Viri optimi et ornatissimi Georgii Upton Armigeri
Qui cum 55 Anos bene vixisset, placida obdormavit
Januarii 25 natali suo An. Do. 1608.

Quæ lux prima tulit te, te abstulit, ergo superstes
Cum nequeas vitæ vivere vive neci.
Integra vita fuit, pia mors, mens dedita Christo
Haec facient tumulo te superesse tuo.

Lugens posunt Edwardus Bisse."

TRANSLATION.

"To the undying memory of George Upton, Esquire, an excellent and cultivated man. After a well-spent life of

55 years he quietly fell asleep January 25th, his own birthday, A.D. 1608.

"The day which first brought thee forth the same also took thee away, wherefore though thou art unable to live on earth, yet thou shalt survive in heaven. His life was without blemish, his death was peaceful, his affections were fixed on Christ. These things will cause his memory to reach beyond his tomb.

"In sorrow Edward Bisse erected this.[1]"

GEORGE UPTON, died 1608, aged 55.

10. The monument and effigy are painted a deep red and profusely gilded. The sinister shield has been apparently painted over and the Upton arms defaced.

11. The top of the left thumb and the nose are broken off, whilst parts of the cushion, left elbow, and back have been cut away.

12. It is against the north wall of the South Aisle Chapel, the third tomb from the east end.

13. Partly described by W. R. Barker, *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xv., part i., p. 83.

14. The effigy is in very good condition.

15. Nothing is known of the life of George Upton. The family is still represented at Ingmire Hall, Westmoreland.

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1. Civilian. Alderman in robe of office.
2. Kneeling effigy.
3. Stone.
4. Diminutive.
5. The figure wears a long full alderman's cloak over a doublet, the plain sleeves of which are alone visible, and end in a narrow cuff. The cloak is quite plain, with short, loose sleeves, and with lappets in front and at the sides reaching to the feet. To complete the dress there is a very full round ruff. The hair is closely cropped, and the moustache small. The hands are in the attitude of prayer.

[1] Pryce, *History of Bristol*, p. 152.

6.

7. The figure kneels on a square tasselled cushion in front of a small faldstool with an open book on the desk.

8. A mural monument with an arched canopy, supported by two Corinthian pillars, resting on plinths and corbels, and bearing an ornamented architrave. The plinths are decorated with masks.

9. Inscription on oblong marble tablet beneath the effigy :—

"This monument was erected for James Thomas, merchant, twice Mayor of this City and Parliament man for the same in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James the first. He died in the year 1619.

And here lieth the body of Thomas James Esq: of Bristol, barrister-at-law, grandson of the said Thomas James. He died in ye year 1685. Here also lieth ye body of Alexander James, of Tydenham, in the County of Gloucester, son of the said Thomas James jun. Esq: He died in ye year 1713."

The above is the exact wording now inscribed on the tablet since about 1894. The tablet was erected, by permission, by Mr. William James, of Denham Mount, Uxbridge, who claimed to be the last lineal descendant of the Thomas James mentioned in the inscription. Some confusion has crept into Bristol histories in consequence of different readings of this inscription. The original probably became illegible, and was painted afresh in the eighteenth century, to be in its turn worn out and replaced by the present one on marble mentioned above. Barrett[1] records the original inscription, whilst Pryce[2] gives the painted one, the latter containing different dates, and calling the second Thomas "a son" of the first. The latest inscription agrees with Barrett's, except that the date of the death of the elder Thomas is given as 1619. That this date is correct is shown by Nicholls,[3] and that the "son" of the first-named

[1] *History of Bristol*, p. 347. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 152.
[3] *Bristol Biographies.*

Thomas is not recorded on the monument is proved by a statement in the *Visitation of the County of Gloucester*, 1682, which shows that the son of that name was drowned at sea in 1622. That the second-named Thomas was a grandson of the first is probable, but if the date 1685 be correct he must have been about 90 years old at the time of his death, and Nicholls suggests it should be 1665. This man is considered to be the Captain Thomas James, celebrated in local history for his venturesome voyage to North America in 1631.

THOMAS JAMES, died 1619.

10. There is no sign of painting.

11. The effigy is not mutilated but worn. The tablet with inscription was renewed about 1894.

12. Placed against the wall in the north-west corner of the south aisle.

13. There is no illustration known.

14. The monument is in a very worn condition and neglected.

15. Alderman Thomas Thomas was born at Woolaston, and married at Almondsbury. He was sheriff of Bristol in 1591, mayor in 1605 and 1614, M.P. for the city 1597, 1604-11 and 1614, master of the Merchant Venturers 1607 and 1615, and alderman from 1604 till his death in 1619. He was a large merchant of Bristol, and left considerable wealth. He had four sons and five daughters. His eldest son Thomas was drowned at sea in 1622, and his second son became a prominent mayor of Bristol, and died at an advanced age in 1680.[1]

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1. Two civilians. Alderman in gown of office and his son.

2. Kneeling effigies.

3. Freestone.

4. Two-thirds of life-size.

[1] Beaven, *Bristol Lists*, p. 298.; Nicholls, *Bristol Biographies*.

5. Costume of the father:—

He wears a padded and ornamented doublet, closely buttoned in front, reaching in a point to a little below the waist, and bound at the bottom by a girdle tied in a bow and end with aiglets or tags. The padded sleeves are slashed across and fastened with numerous buttons on the underside of the wrists. The legs are covered with very full-padded breeches, gathered above the knees, and about his neck is a very thick, round ruffle. Over this is the alderman's gown, covering the feet in loose folds; it fits close round the shoulders from a square yoke, and has a narrow, turned-down collar and short sleeves, cut up in part, with a narrow edging of fur and plain pendent sleeves falling to the ground. It is thrown open in front and edged with a deep band of fur. The hair is short and curly, with closely-cropped beard and long moustache. The eyes are open, and the hands are without covering and clasped in prayer.

Costume of the son:—

He is dressed very similarly to his father, but the absence of the gown shows the costume more clearly. The padded doublet is ornamented with strappings, and the sleeves are tight fitting, with wide epaulets. The breeches are fastened with a wide garter of folded silk above tight hose and high-heeled shoes, with a bow on the instep. He wears a falling band at the neck, tied with narrow strings, and has a short cloak, with deep, square-cut collar, thrown over the back of the shoulders. The hands are in the attitude of prayer and are covered with gloves, the gauntlets of which reach nearly to the elbows. The eyes are open, and the hair is luxuriant, but short and curly, with a small moustache.

6.

7. Both figures are kneeling on square cushions.

8. A high altar tomb, with a low testoon supported by two octagonal columns, which are carried upwards to bear the frieze of quatrefoil leaves and cresting of fleurs de lis. The front of the tomb is divided into three diamond-shaped cusped panels, with shields in the centres without heraldic

devices. The roof of the testoon is ornamented with diamond mouldings, and the back had at one time brass scrolls, of which the matrix alone remains.

9. The Latin inscription is now almost illegible on a worn and cracked tablet beneath the figures:—

"Hic jacent Johannes Aldworth, civis, mercator, hujus civitatis vicecomes, hujusque orphanotrophii quondam thesaurarius, qui obiit 18 Decembris 1615 ætatis suae 51, et Franciscus ilius ejus optimae spei juvenis qui 5 Septem. 1623 obiit, ætatis suae 24.

Terram cum caelo commutavit, placide in Domino requiens.

En pater et natus tumulo conduntur eodem
Ille rei multae, sic fuit ille spei:
Ille probus prudens, pietatis cultor et æqui,
Qui norit lector, crederet, iste foret,
Ille viae medium cum vicerit, iste sed oram,
Cum Christo regnant suaviter in patria."

TRANSLATION.

"Here lie John Aldworth, burgess, merchant, sheriff, and formerly treasurer of the orphanage of this city, who died 18th December, 1615, in the 51st year of his age, and Francis, his son, a youth of brightest promise, who died 5th September, 1623, in his 24th year.

Quietly sleeping in the Lord, earth is changed for heaven.

So father and son are hidden in the same tomb.
The one wise, honourable, of unobtrusive piety,
Of as much action as the other of hope:
What the reader believes, let him know must be so.
The one having reached the middle of life, the other the verge,
Both reign sweetly with Christ in paradise.[1]"

[1] W. R. Barker, *St. Mark's*, p. 184.

Barrett[1] states that the following epitaph was "on a table"; but it no longer appears, and probably was destroyed at the time of the removal of the tomb to its present position. It would therefore appear that an ancestor was buried in the same vault, although not represented by an effigy.

"Thomas Aldworth obiit Februarii 25th Anno 1598
Bristoliae quondam qui mercatoris in urbe
Munere functus eras, bis quoque praeter eras,
Haec cineris Aldworthi tuos tenet urna, sed omnis
Virtutis meritis arctior urna tuis," etc.

JOHN ALDWORTH, died 1615, aged 51.

FRANCIS, his son, died 1623, aged 24.

10. There is no sign of painting.

11. The effigies are somewhat worn as well as the cushions; the thumbs of both are broken off, and the shoes of the son are mutilated. Some brass scroll work at the back has been taken from its matrix.

12. Placed in the north-east corner of the South Aisle Chapel. It stood formerly on the right of the altar.

13. Partly described by W. R. Barker in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xv., part i., p. 81.

14. The tomb is in fairly good condition.

15. The family of Aldworth, for at least two generations, was celebrated for its enterprise and high standing in Bristol. John was sheriff in 1603, and had been a benefactor of Queen Elizabeth's Hospital, Bristol, to which he gave £50 in 1598. From his epitaph he evidently continued the merchant business of his father Thomas, who had been mayor and had taken the lead with the Bristol merchants in fitting out an expedition to explore the coast of America to the south-west of Cape Breton, about 1582.[2]

[1] *History of Bristol*, pp. 350-1.

[2] Barrett, *History of Bristol*, p. 686; W. R. Barker, *St. Mark's*, p. 185.

1. Civilian in alderman's robes.

2. Kneeling effigy.

3. Stone.

4. Diminutive, half life-size.

5. The figure is dressed in a doublet, closely-buttoned in front, and very full breeches, reaching nearly to the knees. The first is secured round the waist by a narrow girdle, tied in a bow, and ending in aiglets or metal tags. The plain sleeves are fastened at the wrists with four buttons, and have cuffs and full ruffles; round the neck is a stand-up ruff. Over all is worn an alderman's cloak, without sleeves, trimmed and edged with fur. It is made with a plain yoke and falls straight in front, and spreads over the feet behind; there are two fur-edged lappets from the shoulders as far as the knees. The hair is rather long, with a moustache and pointed beard. The arms are in the attitude of prayer, but the hands are broken off.

6.

7. The figure is kneeling on a square cushion, ornamented with cord and tassels.

8. A mural monument, with a kneeling effigy, under a canopy with beaded roof, supported by two Corinthian pillars on brackets formed by cherubs' heads, the bases being concave, and decorated with open and closed books strung on festoons. The canopy is surmounted by a shield without heraldic device.

9. A Latin inscription in an oblong panel on the wall under the monument reads:—

"Gulielmo Swift, publicæ scholæ hujus civitatis moderatori. Obiit pridie calend. Junii anno salutis 1623 ætat 52."

WILLIAM SWIFT, died 1623, aged 52.

10. The figure has been covered with stone-colour paint, now almost perished.

11. The figure and canopy are much worn and defaced, and the hands are broken off.

12. Placed high up on the north wall of the South Aisle Chapel.

13. No illustration or description is known.

14. The monument is much decayed.

15. Nothing is known of the history of William Swift. His name does not appear in the list of aldermen of the City of Bristol in Beaven, *Bristol Lists*.

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1. Civilian.

2. Effigy, kneeling on one knee.

3. Alabaster.

4. Life-size, a little over 4 ft. in height.

5. The boy is dressed in a smart costume of Charles I.'s reign, and all the details are carefully shown. A doublet, closely buttoned, reaches below the waist in a long point, and the sleeves, with small epaulets, are fully padded and slashed to the wrists, where they are fastened by seven buttons, and turned back with muslin cuffs edged with lace. The breeches are padded, and gathered into a band above the knees. The silk hose is tight, and secured by garters, which at this period took the form of folds of silk tied in a bow at the side of the leg, with fringed ends. The high-heeled shoes are fastened across the instep with a bow and end. Apparently a sash or burdash passes round the waist, because the fringed ends are visible between the legs, but it is covered by a short, fur-lined cloak gathered into a yoke. This is fastened on the left shoulder, and is brought round to the front on the right side, and kept in position by the hand. The costume is completed by a large and very full-falling band of muslin, edged with lace. The hair is curly, the eyes open, and the features boyish. The left hand rests on the knee, and in it is held an open book.

6.

7. The right knee rests on a flat, oblong cushion, edged with cord, and the heel of the left foot touches the front edge.

8. A beautifully-designed mural monument, with a canopy supported by two black marble Corinthian pillars. The back is plain alabaster, with pilasters on either side,

decorated with groups of books, pens, inkhorn, pencil-case, and other devices to indicate scholarly pursuits.

9. Beneath the monument is an inscription on a square marble panel:—

"Here lyeth the Body of John
Cookin, Sonne and Heire of
Vincent Cookin of Hifield Esq:
Who beinge about 11 years
olde departed this life The 12
Day of March Anno Doni
1627."

JOHN COOKIN, died 1627, aged 11 years.

10. There are no signs of painting.

11. The nose is broken off, and the canopy is a little chipped.

12. Placed against the south wall of the south aisle.

13. Mentioned in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xv., part i., p. 86. There is no illustration known.

14. The effigy is in very good condition.

15. No personal history of the boy is known.

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1. Military. Knight in armour.
Lady and infant.

2. Recumbent effigies, lady resting on side.

3. Marble.

4. Life-size. Male, 5 ft. 9 in.; female, 5 ft. 8 in.; infant, 18 in. long.

5. Male costume:—

This consists of a complete suit of plate armour of the reign of Charles I., not, however, engraved. The body is encased in a breastplate with tapul, and a backplate fastened by hooks, with narrow tuilles of almayne rivets hooked on and reaching to the knees. Underneath these are full loose breeches and the deep skirt of the buff coat. The arms are protected by large pauldrons, pointed coudes and hinged brassarts, whilst the legs are encased in blunt-shaped genouillères and hinged jambs, which meet very broad-toed solerets

with spurs. At the neck is a falling band edged with lace, and tied with cord and pendent tassels and small ruffles at the wrist. A scalloped edge is riveted on to all parts of the armour. A band is hooked on to the projecting rim of the breastplate on the right side, and passes loosely across the tassets, but there is no sword attached. The hair is curly, worn low on the forehead, and falling to the shoulders. There is no beard, but a small upturned moustache. The face is turned towards his wife, and his right arm is brought across to clasp her left hand.

Female costume:—

The figure is dressed in a long flowing gown reaching to the toes and a long tight-fitting plain jerkin or jacket, confined at the waist by a folded girdle tied in a bow and ends. The sleeves of the under-garment are very full and padded, and are turned back at the wrists with two slightly ruffled cuffs, one on top of the other. The sleeves of the jacket reach only to the elbow, and are cut open on the inner side to show the under sleeves, and are kept loosely together by straps. The throat and bosom are covered with a partlet or piccadillo, fastened by a bow in front. The top of the head has been cut off, but from what remains the head-dress was evidently a lace-edged coif and veil reaching to below the shoulders. The tops of the pointed shoes are visible below the dress. The right arm rests on a cushion, and in it she affectionately holds an infant, quaintly dressed in swaddling clothes, and probably added to show the cause of her death. The left hand is grasped by her husband.

6. Male. The head and shoulders rest on two square cushions, the upper one being very large.

Female. The right arm holding the infant rests on a square tasselled cushion.

7. The feet of both rest on the slab only.

8. The effigies are placed upon a high tomb under a lofty canopy of coloured marbles, the man lying 3 in. below the level of the woman. The front of the tomb is plain without panels, and the canopy is formed by two plain marble

pillars with Corinthian capitals, above which is a plain entablature with two small inscribed panels, the whole being surmounted by the coat of arms and crest on an esquire's helmet and wreath. The back of the canopy has a square recess with an oval inscribed tablet in the centre, and on either side a draped figure (mutilated) about 2 ft. high standing on small brackets.

The arms are: "Gules on a chevron argent, three bars gemel sable"; baronet's inescutcheon on chevron, THROKMORTON.

Crest: "A falcon rising or (should be proper) belled and jessed or."

9. Inscription in small panels at back of the canopy:—

"Dedicated to the never-dying memory of the Lady Margaret Throkmorton, the late wife of Sir Baynham Throkmorton, of Clowerwall, in the County of Glouc: Baronet, and youngest daughter of Mr. Robert Hopton, of that ancient and worthie family of the Hoptons of Witham, in the County of Somerset, Esquire, who lifted up her soule to God upon the 18th day of August, in the year of our Lord 1635, and of her age above 25."

Inscription in oval tablet at back of the canopy:—

"A precious Femme, a Margarite, was lent
To crowne Throkmorton with a rich content;
Contented he his Margarite did set
In's faithfull breast his choisest cabanet.
She wished no better till her lustre drew
The King of Heaven to like her gracious hue,
Who, deeming it unfit a subject should
Longer enjoy a femme of that rich mould,
Tooke back his loane, and fixing her above,
Left to Throkmorton this sole pledge of love.
Mors rapax, urna capax, sed spes tenax."

SIR BAYNHAM THROKMORTON, died 1664.

LADY MARGARET, his wife, died 1635, aged 25.

10. There are no signs of painting.

11. The features are much worn, especially those of the infant. The top of the woman's head is cut off, and the figures at the back of the tomb are headless. The armour is chipped.

12. Placed against the north wall of the South Aisle Chapel.

13. Described by W. R. Barker in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xv., part i., p. 83.

14. The effigies are in fair preservation, but have been neglected.

15. This monument was erected by Sir Baynham Throkmorton in memory of his wife, who died in childbirth in 1635. She was buried here, but when he died in 1664 he was buried in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, London. Sir Baynham Throkmorton, of Tortworth, was the second baronet, and succeeded in 1628, his mother being Cecily Baynham, of Clowerwall. The Baynham pedigree is given in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. vi., pp. 184-6, and the pedigree of the Throkmortons in Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, vol. ii., p. 181, where it is shown that this Sir Baynham was a great-grandson of Sir Richard Berkeley, of Stoke Gifford, who died in 1604, and whose monument is in St. Mark's, Bristol. Lady Margaret was sister, and one of the co-heirs of Sir Ralph Hopton, of Stratton, governor of Bristol in 1643. Sir Baynham was afterwards twice married,[1] and in his old age appears to have lost all his fortune from having spent large sums on Kingswood Chase, of which he held the lease from the Crown.[2]

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1. Lady.
   Two civilians.
2. Three kneeling effigies.
3. Stone.
4. Life-size.
5. The woman wears a very full skirt with a plain, tight-

[1] Atkyn, *Gloucestershire*, p. 452.

[2] Latimer, *Annals of Bristol, Seventeenth Century*, p. 305.

fitting bodice and narrow, pointed stomacher cut low at the neck. The sleeves are large and padded, with small epaulets, and are gathered into a narrow band at the elbow, with short, puffed undersleeves that end in frills above the wrists. Over the shoulders is a plain kerchief, fitting loosely at the neck, with little tassels at the corners, and a string of large beads about the throat. The head-dress is such as formed one of the chief peculiarities of the female costume during the time of Cromwell. It consists of a close-fitting hood tied under the chin, and over it a long coverchief falling to the knees, one end being brought forward and held by the left hand. The right elbow rests on the end of a table, and the hand supports the head, which is turned in an affected manner towards the male figure on the left.

Similar head-dress is shown on the effigies of Dorothy Strutt, 1641, Whalley Church, Essex, and Elizabeth Sacheverell, 1662, Morley Church, near Derby.

The two male figures are dressed alike in very full breeches to the knees and short, pleated petticoat breeches over them, with curious strappings on their sides. The short doublet is closely buttoned in front and has a round, falling band at the throat, with full sleeves and small cuffs, which sleeves are buttoned at the wrists but open on the upper side to show very full undersleeves. Hanging from the shoulders is a long cloak in folds to the feet, one corner being brought upwards in the hand and held at the waist. The high boots have heels and broad toes, and are wrinkled about the legs; the narrow tops are stiff and slashed, whilst a large bow of leather protects the instep. The faces are clean shaven and youthful, surrounded with long, curly hair to the shoulders. With their spare hands the figures hold back a curtain edged with fringe, to show the central kneeling figure.

6.

7. The female figure is kneeling on a large, square cushion with big tassels, and the male figures on smaller ones.

8. A wide and lofty mural monument, with Corinthian pilasters and carved mouldings, surrounding a semi-circular

recess and heavy canopy, the whole surmounted by a mutilated figure nearly 3 ft. high. The recess, which is carved within and without, contains the kneeling effigy of the mother, and on either side on brackets, supported by large demi-angels, are the two sons, kneeling and holding back a large curtain suspended from the arch of the canopy. Under the central figure is an oblong panel resting on a cherub's head and having an inscription. The monument is said to have been the work of the father of Colley Cibber.[1] Barrett mentions a coat of arms, "Sable a bend lozenge argent," BAYNTON, but this is no longer on the monument.

9. Latin inscription on a tablet under central figure:—

"Mem. sacra hic sita sunt ossa ornatissimae Faemina Dominae Mariae Dom. Edoardi Baynton, nuper de Bromham in Comitatu Wiltoniae Relicta, Faemina fuit ad antiquam morem Composita, Illibatae Vitae, pietate, Forma et omni Laude maternali Virtute Muliebri ornata quae postquam vitam nimis eheu brevem nec a molestiis penitus liberam, piam tamen pudicam castam, generosam hospitalitate charitate, aliisque quam plurimus virtutibus excultam omnibus, etiam egenis, caram egisset; eam cum ingenti omnium utriusque; sexus, quibus aut fama, aut facie nota fuit, luctu ac dolore reliquit, pro faeliciore commutavit, et Christo placide obdormivit ætatis suae, Anno quadregessimo secundo et Domini servatoris MDCLXVII.

"Sordes Terra tenet, tenet Ingens spiritus aethra. Huic ejus filii dom. Robertus et dom. Nicolaus quos utero conjugali fructifero peperit hoc maerentes posuere monumentum."

TRANSLATION.

"Sacred to the memory of an illustrious woman (whose remains lie here), Lady Maria, relict of Sir Edward Baynton, lately of Bromham, in the county of Wiltshire. She was a lady of the olden style, of

[1] Evan, *History of Bristol*, p. 224.

unblemished life, adorned with piety, beauty, and with every maternal grace and female excellence. In her mode of life (though, alas! her stay was too brief, and by no means free from trouble) she was frank, religious, trusty, modest, chaste, eminent for hospitalities and affections, and ennobled by well-nigh every virtue. All men, and especially the poor, were the objects of her regard. Her removal from this life occasioned great grief and sadness to all of either sex to whom she was known either by report or by sight. She changed this for a happier scene, and sweetly fell asleep in Jesus in the 42nd year of her age in the year 1667.

"The earth holds her dust, her spirit has passed to heaven. Her sons Robert and Nicholas have here sorrowfully placed this monument."[1]

DAME MARIA BAYNTON, died 1667, aged 42, and her sons Robert and Nicholas.

10. The figures are covered with several coats of dull ochre paint. The cushions were seemingly painted red at one time.

11. The monument is chipped and damaged.

12. Placed at the east end of the South Aisle Chapel in the position formerly occupied by the altar of the chapel. Barrett[2] describes the monument as being "in the west aisle next the pulpit." It was probably removed when the plaster canopies and stalls were erected in 1820.

13. Partly described by W. R. Barker in *Trans. B. and G. Arch. Soc.*, vol. xv., part i., p. 82.

14. In fairly good condition, but neglected.

15. The maiden name of Lady Maria Baynton is given as Mary Bowell, and she was the second wife of Sir Edward, surviving him ten years. She bore him two sons, as above, and one daughter Anne, who died young. Of her sons Robert died unmarried, and Nicholas married the daughter of Sir — Osbaldeston of Chadlington, and had issue.[3]

[1] W. R. Barker, *St. Mark's*, p. 186. [2] *History of Bristol*, p. 349.
[3] Burke's *Extinct Baronetage*.

1. Civilian.
2. Bust.
3. Stone.
4. Life-size.
5. The face represents a middle-aged man, clean-shaven, with open eyes and short hair. The shoulders are loosely draped, leaving the throat bare.
6.
7.
8. The bust, on a small pedestal, is placed on the top of a large, square mural tablet of marble, with inscription. Below the tablet are the arms: "Argent a chevron between three garbes sable," BLAAKE.
9. The Latin inscription on tablet is:—

"Infra Jacet
Henricus Blaake
de Pinnells in Agro Wiltoniensi
Armiger
Ortu, et Ingenio liberali clarus
doctus, probus, fortis, et benevolus
Legum peritus
Regiae Magistatis Cultor
Patriae
Cui olim in Senatu inservijt
Strenuus Vindex
Adeo verecundus et sui commodi temperans
ut cum apud Magnos plurimum valeret
Alijs utilis
Sibi parum vel nihilo profuerit
Obiji 10 Julij A.D. 1731
Aetat 72.

Catherina ejus filia natu maxima hoc
Monumentum Ære suo posuit et eodem
Sepulchio est condita
Obijt illa 17 Julij 1747."

HENRY BLAAKE, died 1731, aged 72.

10. Only the arms are painted, and these are nearly obliterated.

11. The bust is not mutilated.

12. Placed against the south wall of the south aisle.

13. No illustration is known.

14. The monument is in good condition.

15. No particulars of the life of Henry Blaake are known beyond those in the epitaph. There is a tablet to members of the same family, dated 1829, in St. Stephen's Church, Bristol.

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1. Civilian.

2. Bust.

3. Stone, with marble tablet.

4. Life-size.

5. The bust represents a man of about sixty, with large features, clean shaven, and open eyes. He wears a square-cut coat, with small, round, turned-down collar; the top button only is fastened, and beneath is seen a full shirt, buttoned at the throat. A mantle is loosely draped round the shoulders, and on the head is a kind of turban, the scarf being loosely wound round and round, hiding the hair.

6.

7.

8. A lofty mural monument, with bust and pedestal, placed on a small sarcophagus in the centre of a large marble tablet, with imitation recess and small curtains festooned. Leaning against the sarcophagus and standing on square plinths are two cherubs spreading out their drapery. Beneath is an inscription, and the whole is surmounted by the coat of arms: "Azure a chevron argent between three etoiles or," HALLIARD.

9. Inscription on the front of sarcophagus is:—

"Near this Place lie the Remains of William Halliard Esq: who was born at Sea House in the Parish of Ilminster in the County of Somerset."

Inscription on tablet is:—

"After having by his bright Parts soon acquired the knowledge usually taught in School, He entered Himself a Gentleman Commoner in Wadham College in Oxford where He made Himself Master of the Liberal Sciences. Then travelled over the greatest part of Europe and return'd to his native Land a Compleat Gentleman and Master of the European Languages, was ? the Commission of the Peace, for which He was well qualified. He married Mary, the Widow of William Blome Esq: one of the Daughters and Co-heiresses of Gabriel Goodman Esq: Who by Her last Will left £200 to erect this monument to His Memory. Among other charitable legacies He left £100 to the Poor of the Parish of St. Augustine in this city."

William Halliard, died 1735, aged 72.

The date is not given on the monument, but according to an inscription on a flat stone in the South Aisle Chapel he died 8th July, 1735.

10. The arms only are painted, and the tinctures are becoming worn off.

11. The monument is not mutilated.

12. Placed against the south wall of the south aisle. It stands above a recess, which was formerly a doorway leading into the chapel, from the passage at the side.[1]

13. No illustration is known.

14. The monument is in good preservation, but neglected.

15. Nothing is known of the history of William Halliard except what is given on the epitaph.

[1] W. R. Barker, *St. Mark's*, p. 160.

# THE MERCERS' AND LINEN DRAPERS' COMPANY OF BRISTOL.

By JOHN LATIMER.

The Museum and Library have recently come into possession of an old manuscript volume, containing the records of the Bristol Company of Mercers and Linen Drapers for a period of about eighty years ending in 1729, of which a brief analysis may perhaps be of interest. It may be premised that no document referring to a Mercers' and Linen Drapers' Company is to be found amongst the mediæval craft ordinances of the Corporation enrolled in *The Little Red Book*. It was not, in fact, established by the civic body until July 13th, 1647, when a "charter of incorporation" was approved by the Common Council and ordered to be engrossed. In the same year John Young (Sheriff, 1645) was elected first Master. The Woollen Drapers' Company obtained similar corporate recognition in 1654, and another ordinance for regulating the Mercers' and Linen Drapers' Company was passed by the Common Council in 1656–7, when it was further decreed that any citizen, not being a member of the Company, who should presume to sell mercery or drapery either publicly or privately should be amerced in a penalty of £5. The book which I have mentioned contains a list of the Masters and Wardens of the Company extending from 1647 to 1729. The first audited account is dated October, 1659, and the yearly lists of members begin in 1663, when, in addition to the Master, a draper, the members consisted of eighteen mercers and twelve linen drapers, all being emphatically styled "shopkeepers." One of the mercers was James Millerd, the

publisher of the two celebrated plans of Bristol, who was elected Master in 1671, in which year there were forty-four members, the largest number recorded. The minimum was reached in 1702, when only twenty-three names appear on the roll. Through the subsequent prosecution of several tradesmen who had the audacity to keep drapery shops without being admitted into the Company, the number of members in 1729 had increased to thirty-seven. The Company do not appear to have possessed a hall of their own at any time. On Henry Gleson (Sheriff, 1675) being elected Master in 1663, it is recorded that "he took the hall in St. Thomas's Lane," and "in consideration that the Company should excuse him from making a feast" he paid a year's rent of the building, and furnished it with six leather chairs, two green cushions (probably for wooden benches), two pewter candlesticks, a "carpet" for the long table, "a box with new book"—doubtless the book now being described, as the title-page is dated 1663—and other "ornaments," and, moreover, "gave the Company a short treatment when they did meet." As no rent figures in the accounts until 1675, it is probable that the charge was defrayed by successive Masters, the "feast" being meanwhile suspended. Afterwards, until 1680, a sum of £8 was paid as rent, but part of the house was sub-let, bringing in £5 10s. In 1681 the Company migrated to another hall, situated in Nicholas Street, which was rented at £4 until 1708. Subsequent meetings seem to have taken place at various taverns.

The income of the Company was exceedingly meagre. A sum of ninepence, called "quarterage," was long paid every three months by each member, but as it was not brought into the accounts for some years it was probably devoted to conviviality. The quarterage was increased to eighteen-pence in 1726, but absentee members evaded payment, and only £6 10s. was received in that year, although the thirty members on the roll should have paid £9. Small as the due was, it was the Company's chief

source of revenue. Down to 1698 the fine payable on the admission of a new member was 30s., but the charge was reduced in 1699 to 3s. 4d., a substantial fee of £2 being imposed on a member when he took an apprentice. The average yearly receipts from both these sources did not exceed £4. Occasionally a member paid a fine, varying from £3 to £10, for being excused from taking office, and in the course of three-quarters of a century "benefactions" amounting altogether to £32 were made by three zealous members of the society. Practically the whole of these limited resources was spent on three objects that were greatly cherished by the Company, and to which, in fact, it almost exclusively devoted itself. These were: firstly, the suppression of interloping tradesmen, who set up drapery shops in the city; secondly, the prosecution of Londoners, who brought down goods to the great Bristol fairs, and audaciously offered their wares to the public a few days before or after the eight statutory days which they could not be debarred from enjoying; and thirdly, the rigorous extirpation of hucksters and pedlars. As regards the first class of offenders, three men were at various times prosecuted, and one at least was lodged in prison, for their competitive trading. In the result upwards of £70 was extracted from them, but the costs incurred in the three suits exceeded the receipts. In 1727, however, Mark Harford and three other prominent shop-keeping rivals were compelled to enter the Company, and to pay fines of about £10 each for admission amongst the monopolists.

The usual system of harassing the obnoxious Londoners was to fee the mayor's sergeants, with directions to forcibly close the shops hired by the strangers as soon as the fair days had expired. Thus in 1698 there is the following entry in the accounts: "Paid the mayor's officers and constables for keeping down the Londoners' windows, £4 16s. 5d," a sum more than 50 per cent. in excess of the entire income of the year. Repeated outlays for shutting down shop windows proving ineffectual, the Company

resorted to a ruse. A male or female agent was secretly furnished with a little money, and directed to purchase drapery of any stranger or non-burgess venturing to sell before or after the fair. On the trick proving successful, the victim was promptly summoned before the magistrates, convicted and fined. Two examples may be given out of many: "1709. Paid for several goods of those that transgress upon the trade, £1 18s. 7d." "1718. Paid for 8 yards stuff that was bott of Steward in order to detect him, and that was given to the maid that bott it per order of the Company at 14d. p. (yard), 9s. 4d." Resorting to another expedient, the members of the Company on three occasions were forbidden to trade at any time with London mercers or drapers who attended the local fairs, but the boycott proved unworkable.

For the suppression of hawkers and petty chapmen the Company frequently resorted to the Town Clerk and other lawyers; but, prosecutions entailing certain outlay and no permanent profit, the hall at length mainly relied on the services of its "beagle," or beadle, who, to appal the peddling tribe, was decorated with a livery, scarlet stockings, a gold-laced hat, and a staff bearing the Company's arms—coolly copied from those of the London Company. As the salary of this official, fixed at 10s. a year in 1674, never exceeded £2, his demonstrations can only have been fitful. He was reinforced during the fairs by a mercenary, styled "the clubman," and the city bellman was always in request to warn "foreigners" by "crying down" the fair. It is probable that some of the machinations against outsiders were not popular amongst the citizens. At all events, a resolution was passed in 1669 declaring that the revealing of matters discussed by the Company was of evil tendency, and threatening any member detected in disclosing secrets out of doors with a severe penalty for his garrulity.

Amongst the members of the Company who became chief magistrates of the city were John Hicks (1671), John Bubb (1697), John Bacheler (1699), George Stephens (1706),

Nicholas Hicks (1716), Henry Combe (1740), Richard Bayley (1741), and Buckler Weekes (1748). Several others were members of the Common Council.

Wealthy members occasionally presented the Company with pieces of silver plate for the dinner-table, the stock consisting in 1729 of a tankard, two large cups, five salvers, a fruit-dish, and a "large salt." Inserted in the book is an Excise Office receipt, dated October 27th, 1759, intimating that the Company had paid 5s., being one year's duty on 100 ounces of plate. This paper affords the latest information as to the Company's existence, the last minute-book having unluckily disappeared.

# THE CRYPT CHURCH, GLOUCESTER, SOMETIMES CALLED ST. MARY OF SOUTH GATE.

By C. H. DANCEY.

The earliest records of historical interest relating to this church date from the time of Edward the Confessor, whose chaplain, Osbern, Bishop of Exeter, 1073-1105, held certain mansions, lands and tenements in Gloucester. Fosbroke says: "Upon the site of one or more of these mansions the churches of Crypt and the chapel of All Saints were built." Robert Chichester, a successor in the See of Exeter, conveyed these churches to the Priory of Llanthony, reserving a pension of xx*s.* to the Nunnery of Godstow. This benefaction was made upon the consecration of the new church at Llanthony in 1137. Bishop Robert did not only build the church, but endowed it with much property, before attached to the See of Exeter. One of these mansions belongs to the rectory, and was the parsonage house of the living. A great part of this house was used as an inn, and was known by the sign of "The Black Horse." It is the building which was so long occupied by the Lapington family (now Chamberlayne).

The church consists of nave and nave aisles, north and south transepts, large chancel with north and south chapels and a central tower.

There were chantries in this church. The chapel of St. Mary was founded by "William de Warwick" and Edith his wife, and divers other persons.[1]

There were lands and tenements given, as well as persons

[1] *Chantry Certificates*, by Sir J. Maclan.

appointed to care for the several properties, and the profits of the rents, etc., "maynteyned a prieste, singine at our Ladye Alter," in the said church.

The south chapel of St. Mary is Early English in style (with the exception of the east window, which is of the Decorated period). Among the subsequent benefactors to this chantry of St. Mary was one Richard Manchester, a burgess of Gloucester, whose will,[1] dated September 18th, 1459, directs that "his body should be buried in the Church of St. Mary in the South, before his seat there." He gave "towards the purchase of five great bells of one concord to be fixed in the belfry of the said church, his largest brazen pot; also for tithes forgotten 3s. 4d." After several gifts to his servants of silver spoons, he bequeathed "all his other silver to be sold by his executors, who are to find with the proceeds of the sale an honest chaplain to continually celebrate at the altar of St. John in the said Church of St. Mary in the South for the testator's soul and his late wives Margery and Joan for so long as the money will last."

He also left "one book to the Friars Minor" (Grey Friars) and "one book (a Latin grammar) to remain in a chest within the said church under the care of the proctors and chaplain of the chantry of St. Mary therein;" and another book of the *Miracles of St. Jerome*, "bound with iron chains to the stall where the testator was wont to sit in the same church, to be under the custody of the wardens, for use and increase of virtues of those reading the said book." The "remainder part" of his books were disposed of to such persons as was deemed "most fit and necessary." He also bequeathed "the tenement which he then inhabited," as well as another adjoining, which was situated on the west side of the South Street, to four persons, "to have and to hold them on condition that the income arising therefrom be expended in the sustentation of a chaplain of the perpetual chantry of St. Mary in the said Church of St. Mary in the South," and that such chaplain say on every Thursday in

[1] Corporation Records.

his mass the prayer, "*Deus cui proprium minor*, for the soul of the testator and his wives." He also gave to the same four persons three cottages "standing together on the south side of Scrudlane" (Cross Keys Lane), they to pay the profits thereof to the churchwardens of the said church, "for the maintenance of a light to burn daily in a lamp in the second chancel of St. Mary in the same church during the celebration of divine service." He also gave to the same persons "three other cottages and a shop adjoining the before-mentioned cottages," they to pay the annual profits thereof to the churchwardens for an anniversary of the testator's death, the churchwardens to have a suitable reward for their trouble."

This old worthy gave also other property to the Church of St. Mary de Lode and to St. Bartholomew's Hospital upon the same condition.

There are in this will some "items" which may be helpful in our search after facts with regard to the date of the building of the church as we now see it. We are brought to the year 1454, at which period the style of architecture called Perpendicular was in fashion.

It would seem that though this church had been partly rebuilt by the parishioners in the prevailing style of work, the chantry chapel was allowed to remain as it was, and also a doorway in the north wall of the nave aisle, which is now blocked up on the inside, though its original character can be seen in the churchyard.

The present Church of St. Mary de Crypt is, with the exception of the Cathedral, the most complete example of the Perpendicular style in the city, and its proportions are good. The tower is lofty and bold; it is ornamented with panels and battlements, while the corner buttresses are surmounted with pinnacles—these are evidently copied in part from the beautiful ones belonging to the sedilia in the chancel. The peculiar feature of the tower is, that it has only one large window on each face; it also contains a fine peal of bells though the clock and chimes are gone.

In the will of Robert Manchester we find the first thing that he gave was "my largest brazen pot, also tithes forgotten 3s. 4d. toward the purchase of five great bells of one concord to be fixed in the belfry of the church." This would seem to show that the tower, which was then only recently built, was without a ring of bells, and therefore this gift was probably the beginning of the first ring of bells which belonged to the parish. With regard to these heavy bells the Rev. T. L. Papillon very kindly writes: "I think that the phrase 'of one concord' applied to a ring of bells must mean that they are tuned in harmony with each other. These heavy rings of four or five bells each were not uncommon in the Middle Ages. There was a 'Guild of Westminster to ring the great bells there' about 1250, and it is probable that such bells were in 'concord.' Change ringing did not come in till the middle of the seventeenth century, and has no doubt been responsible for the disappearance of many 'great bells' of earlier date, recast to form augmented rings of handier size." There were in the tower of St. Mary Redcliff in 1480 three bells of almost precisely similar weights with the three heaviest bells in the ring at St. Paul's Cathedral, which are the heaviest change-ringing bells in the world.

Upon the western gable there is a reproduction of the beautiful old cross, which came down a few years ago. It is a quatrefoil with cusping. On the west face is represented the Crucifixion, and on the eastern the Virgin and Child.

In the nave the two western responds are Early English, as is also the blocked-up doorway; the windows of the nave and aisle are of the Decorated period; the nave arcade, with the columns and the transepts, are late Perpendicular; and the roof is bold and substantial. The pillars and arches which support the tower are, for their strength, very elegant; the groining is enriched with cross springers and moulded ribs, the bosses at the intersections being carved with the emblems of the four Evangelists.

The chancel has clerestory windows of three lights each;

the arches of these are of a later date. The roof has been raised (as can be seen); the terminations of the principals and intersections of the beams are concealed by figures of angels playing on musical instruments, the minor joints being covered with bosses of foliage. There is an appearance of falling-off in design and workmanship in this roof, which is of the Tudor period.

The chancel in other respects is exceedingly interesting, and is unrivalled by that of any other church in the city. It is unusually long; the east window, which is simple but good, is filled with modern coloured glass.

The way in which the clerestory walls are supported is very skilful, as are also the ogee openings in the columns leading into the chancel chapels. There are side windows at the east end, which is an unusual arrangement; these are filled with modern coloured glass in memory of Ralph Fletcher and his wife.

The earliest "Procurers'" (or Churchwardens') "Accomptes" date from the year 1576. At this early period the "procurers" of Chrift payde to the Stewardes of the cittie for the waye in the churchyarde viij*d*. (Crypt Alley?).

"Walter Purye," one of the churchwardens for the year 1604, accounts for "John Tounckes bequeste to the church to builde a lofte for the Chymes in the Tower, iij*l*. viij*s*."

The above is the first mention on record of chimes or a clock in the tower.

"A Taxacon" was made in 1618 to defray the cost of new frames for the bells: "Paide for fower crosses for the Tower."

The siege of Gloucester was the cause of the following entries:—

"2 Yeares Accomptes together and the cause thereof.

"The Accomptes of Mr. Robert Payne, and Mr. John Purlewent, churchwardens of St. Mary Cript, from ye thirde daye of May, Anno Dom: 1641, unto the sixteenth daye of April, Anno Dom: 1643-4, being the accomptes for two yeres then ended; the cause and reason of the procrastican

& not geven up of their accomptes for the first yeare of the said two yeres accomptes was a tyme of distraccion for the siege of whrr then draweinge neare this citty, the said churchwardens & parishoners could not assemble & meete together in their church for the same purpose as accustomed to doe without danger.

"Imprimis the said churchwardens doe charge themselves with the receipte of divers somes of money by them paide & received as well of the pishoners as of athers duringe the saide siege yeres, for & to the use of the pish as followeth.

"Item of the Communicants for bread and wine, £3 2s. 10d."

Then follows a list of "items," together with a "Taxation of the pishoners, made the xxvij$^{th}$ day of ffebruary 1641, the some of £5 10s. 6d., Some of ye whole receiptes doe amounte to ye some of £14 11s. 9d."

"The Accomptes of Augustin Green, and William Cowther, churchwardens," for the memorable year 1643 are of the usual items. At the end is, "Some of all ye Receiptes doe amounte unto £3 16s. 4d."

There was a special fund this year, made to aid the poor in their distress:—

"Receaved of Alderman Scriven the second day of September anno Dom: 1643, the some of ... ... ... ... ... ... £1 13 8
Of Robert Payne at the same tyme for ye use of ye pish ... ... ... ... ... £1 4 0
Of Mr. Jno. Purlewent the same tyme being for ye use of ye pish... ... ... £1 4 0

The somes so receaved amounteth to ... £4 1 8"

Then follows a list of poor and widows amounting to more than the said sum. Then there is, "Received of Mr. Robert Payne for ye use of ye pish £1 4s. 0d. This occurred two days before the approach of the relieving army under the Earl of

Essex on September 5th. We can understand what poverty and privation the poor must have suffered, and how great the anguish of anxiety endured by the citizens in general must have been during these "Troublous Times," yet in reading these extracts, we see that worthy men did not forget to help the poor in the distressing time of the siege.

There is no murmuring recorded, but a steady doing of their idea of duty in maintaining the constitution of our Laws. The Books have only the usual items of expenditure recorded, there being more serious matters to attend to, for although the siege had been raised, there was constant dread of much more distressing trouble happening.

On April 3rd, 1648, was passed "An Act entitled the Ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, for Uniting certain churches and for maintenance of Preaching ministers in ye city of Gloucester." The Parishes of St. Mary de Crypt, St. Owens, and All Saints, were made one parish.

There is one item of interest this year: "Paide Mr. Campion for gilding ye hoope hour glass and Sword holder, 14s. 6d."

In 1650 a call was made upon the united parishioners to pay "A Taxation for the reparation of the Church Tower."

St. Owen's Church was taken down in 1643, just previous to the siege, to prevent it being of use to the besieging forces, and All Saints' was used as a Council-Chamber for the Burgesses to Meet in. Over one hundred names are recorded in the "Taxation" list, to pay their share of the repairs to the tower. This was: "Payde to Mr. Barnes, for mendinge the leads of the Tower, £12 3s. 9d., payde for timber work thereunto, £1 16s. 9d.; nayles, 5s. 7d.; for halling of the lead and money spent upon the workmen, 4s. 9d." "Received of Mr. Toby Jordan in part of the money remaininge in his hands, for a bell that was sold, £5 0s. 0d." Was this bell from St. Owen's?

In 1653 an Act of Parliament was passed, bearing date

the 24th day of August, "for the Registering of Births, Marriages & Burialls." At a parish meeting on the 27th of September Mr. Samuel Kenricke was elected to be the parish Registrar.

In 1654 there occurs "An Inventory of the parish goodes, plate and writeings received from the Ould Churchwardens, Thos. Burroughs and John Brotherton, and was the 19th day of June, 1654, delivered up into the hands of the suckseedinge churchwardens Thomas Partridge and Richard Humphris."

"Item an Silver cup with a cover, 2 pewter fflagons, 1 Iron hoope for ye Bason, 1 Pulpit cloth, green silk freng, 2 cushions, 1 hour glass, 1 diaper table cloth, 3 long napkins, 2 old pulpit cloths, Mr. Wagstaffs counterpart of a deede, Mr. Powell & other ffeofeement, Mr. Purys paper copy for his Guifte, one Bond of £30 for the payment of £15, by the wife of Mr. Willowby, 1 bond of John Turner to save the pish harmless, 4 Indentures for the placeing of Parson Reve, William Elliott, Samuel Maning, & Isacke Maning, 1 Indenture of Mrs. Grey for the rent of St. Owens Churchyard, 1 deed of date the 8th of June, 1648, of lands fformerly beelonging to All St[s] of Mr. Hoares land for a yearly rent of 53s., 4 Old writeings in parchment formerly concerning All St[s] pish, 1 Ould church Bible in the hand of Mr. Kenricke, 1 black box to put in the writeings, 1 Erasmus Paraphasses that came from All St[s] pish, 3 Register bookes in Vellum, all in the hands of Mr. Kenricke, our Minister now Registrar, 1 large church Bible now commonly used & belonging to St. Mary de Cript."

1658. "Received of Mr. Rowland Greene for one years rent for the Vineyard Hill being Alderman Puryes gift to the poor, £10 os. od."

On November 22nd, 1675, "It is agreed upon that the Churchwardens shall sue, Purdue, for not making the bell tunable according to the articles."

A Committee was appointed to treat with the Founders, the result being, "That the q[r] Tenor shall be new cast,

being now as it is very untunable, and that the little Bell commonly called the . . . Bell, [Sanctus bell.]? shall be new cast and made so much bigger as to be a treble tunable to ye other five bells, and in order thereunto Mr. Samuel Burrowes and Mr. Thomas Dobbs, ye churchwardens for the present year, shall enter Articles of agreement [already perused by us] with Richard Purdue, and William Coney, Bellfounders, of ye City of Bristol, and shall also at wch^r time they may think fitt, make a rate of so much money, upon ye said pishoners, as shall pay the said . . . as well as all other charges as will arise from ye taking down and hanging up again of ye said bells. April ye 26th, 1678."

There does not appear to have been a bell foundry in our city at this date, the old founders having passed away.

In the following year's account there is an item, "Paid to William Coney for casting the Bells, £29 11s. od., paid Abraham Ridall for his work done in the church, £6 17s. od." Other items are paid for timber, nayles, &c., making a "Some of all £42 6s. 10d."

The name of A. Ridall is here brought to our notice, but we soon hear more of him and also of the bells.

In 1688 "Abraham Ridail" was allowed the sum of Thirty pounds for casting ye beils, £30 os. od.; paid Mr. Lewis for making ye clock, £12 os. od.; paid Mr. Randall for ye clock case, 17s. od. [There had been a clock before this one.]

In 1703 the roof of the "North Isle" was new covered, and general repairs included new glazing the window.

At a vestry meeting held July 4th, 1710, "It is agreed that new frames be made for the Bells and to repair the Tower and church as it seem meet and convenient." At a subsequent meeting it was decided that Mr. Rudhall should new cast the six bells, and in 1711 these bells were new cast and new frames and some work done to the tower amounting to £140 os. od.

In 1735, after several years' consideration, "It was agreed

that a gallery should be built with oak over the west end, and that Mr. Roberts should build it.

1738. "At a vestry meeting it was agreed that Mr. Cleveley should be allowed Six ginneas for repairing the East Pinnacles of the Tower of the church, and find all Materials for doing the same." At a subsequent meeting "It was agreed that Mr. Wm. Cleveley shall be paid five ginneas and a half for repairing the two other pinnacles of the Tower, he finding all materials for the same."

On the 18th day of December, 1749, "It was agreed that as two new bells are added to make a peal of Eight, the ringers shall be allowed five shillings for each ringing day, which shall be no more than six in each year." This is signed by Abraham Rudhall, William Draper, churchwardens. No mention is made how or by whom the two bells are paid for. There are now in the tower five bells dated 1710, one 1749, one 1769, and one 1772. Nothing of material importance is recorded until the church was restored, during the time when the Rev. Mr. Sayers was rector.

Mr. John Clark, in his *Architectural History of Gloucester*, says: "This church was carefully restored in 1845. Some discoveries were made and several interesting features brought to light. On the south side of the chancel, three sedilia of most beautiful design and accurate workmanship, also a piscina and credence table. On the north another sedile, probably intended for the abbot, and an Easter sepulchre, were freed from the mass of modern monuments which had before concealed their beauties. [At the back of the abbot's seat there is a ✠, perhaps a dedication one.]

"The whole of the carving of these and the details are chaste and good. Each of the sedilia on the south side had a picture at the back. That in the most western one is much obliterated, but it appears to represent the consecration of a bell. The next is evidently the lifting up of the brazen serpent in the wilderness, the forked top of the post and part of the serpent's body being clearly visible. In the third is an earl, attended by a numerous retinue, presenting a chalice

to an abbot, who is arrayed in full canonicals and waited upon by a band of monks.

"The stonework of the sedilia and Easter sepulchre was originally adorned with gold and various colours, in which red predominates. Above them is a large arched panel on each side; these are filled with life-size figures in fresco.

"That on the south is very indistinct, but the subject appears to be the prophecy of Simeon. On the north side the adoration of the Magi is represented.

"In the niches above the sepulchre are depicted the four women named 'Mary' of whom mention is made in the New Testament. Within at the back appears our Saviour in the attitude of ascending from the tomb; the sleeping guard are, as is usual in representations of the period, clothed in the costume and armed with the weapons in use at the time the picture was executed.

"In all these the drawing is superior to the general work of the period.

"The attitudes of the figures are graceful, the folds of the drapery easy and natural. The colouring, though much faded, is extremely harmonious; some of the colours in places retain their former brilliancy, and show how gorgeous must have been the appearance of the church when the whole of it was decorated in this manner.

"In the south or St. Mary's Chapel is a recessed raised tomb with an ogee arch over it. This is probably that of the benefactor who most largely contributed to the alterations that took place in the fifteenth century."

Now, if we refer to the will of Robert Manchester, we find that he directed that "his body should be buried in the Church of St. Mary, in the south before his seat there," and there is certainly a strong probability that this tomb, which is of the date at which he died, viz. 1454, was the burial-place of this old burgess, who is stated to have been "Master of the Hospital of St. Margaret's" in the reign of King Henry VI.

There are many interesting monuments in this church.

The remaining parts of the "monumental brass," erected to John and Joan Cook, are now fixed to a new stone slab, against the north wall of the north transept. John Cook was a brewer, who served the office of sheriff of the city in 1494 and 1498, and was mayor in 1501, 1507, 1512, and 1519. He is said to have been one of the "first Aldermen, Justices of the Peace, and Chief burgesses of the town of Gloucester who were appointed by King Richard the Third, in the first year of his Reign." (Rudder and Fosbroke.) He must have served the city well to have been so often chosen during his life, and he provided for the benefit of the sons of the city after his death. In his will dated May 18th, 1528, he clearly laid out a plan for the founding and maintaining the Crypt Grammar School, adjoining this church. This noble gift was "well talked over with his wife Joan, who was well inclined thereunto;" he desired her to carry out his intentions, and appointed her sole executrix under certain supervisors, who were to assist her in so doing.

He left other charities of a useful nature, and for the repairing and maintaining of the roads near the town, the Westgate-bridge and the City Cawesway.

His will was, "My body to be buryed at the northende of the highe Alter before the Image of Seynt John Baptist in the Sowthe streete of the towne of Glouc$^{r}$."

"Also I geve & bequeth my table of the liff of Seynt John the Baptist of alablaste to Crifte Churche to be sett at the aulte of Seynt John in the Sowthe prte of that churche."

Dame Joan piously fulfilled the promise made to her dying husband by not marrying again; she took the "Vow of Chastity," assumed "the ring & mantle" and became a "Mourning Widow." She also built and endowed the "Grammar School," having bought certain lands which belonged to the Priory of Llanthony, when that house was dissolved.

There are also the remains of the monument of Sir Thomas Bell and Joan his wife. The Chapel of St. Mary

contains a large portion of this monument, which was erected by Joan to the memory of her husband. It was a raised tomb, of which the lower part only remains *in situ*. The following inscription in black letter was inscribed around the edge, though it can scarcely be discerned at the present time:

"Dame Joane Bell the wydowe of Syr Thomas Bell, Knyght, hath causid this tombe to be made, and fynished the same, the xiiij day of June, in the yere of ower Lord God 1567." The figure of Sir Thomas Bell, kneeling, in a scarlet gown, with a chain of gold about his neck, also that of his wife kneeling, with a shield bearing their arms between them, as well as the inscription, are gone.

This worthy old knight was a charitable man when alive, and did not forget to provide for the "poore folke" after his death. At the dissolution of monasteries he purchased the Blackfriars, and also the Chapel of St. Kyneburgh, which stood near the Southgate, and formerly belonged to Llanthony Priory. This building he converted into an almshouse and endowed it for "sixe poore folke." This charity now forms part of the United Hospitals, in the London Road. His arms and T.B. are carved over one of the entrance doorways.

He lived in the Church of the Blackfriars: in the other parts he employed a large number of hands in the making of caps, then known as the "Gloucester Caps," one of the staple industries in our city before pin-making was introduced here, thus by his presence and influence encouraging thrift as against idleness and poverty. He died May 26th, 1566. She died June 12th, 1567.

Not far from the last-mentioned tomb there is fixed against the north wall a tablet to the memory of the Pury family. Thomas Pury and his son Thomas were the two strong-nerved men living within the city at the time of the civil strife between King Charles the First and his Parliament.

Colonel Edward Massie was the man appointed to command the "forces," but if the stout-hearted citizens, with the Purys at their head, had not been most determined in

their opposition to the royal army, there would not have been much to record relating to the "Siege of Gloucester." Perhaps the fate of the King would have been different to what it was, but it may not have been better for the Constitution of England.

Thomas Whitefield was churchwarden of this parish in 1712. He lived at the "Bell Hotel"; it was here that the child was born on December 15th, 1714, who became the great evangelist George Whitfield. It was in this church that he was baptised; at the "Grammar School," founded by "Dame Joan Cook," he was educated; as a boy he was chosen to recite speeches before the Corporation when they made their annual visitation. It was here that he first partook of the Holy Communion. Ordained in the Cathedral by Bishop Benson, on June 20th, 1736, he preached his first sermon in his own parish church on the following Sunday. What a pity that the pulpit used by him on that occasion should have been removed. It is in use upon the hills near the city, so says report.

Robert Raikes, the founder of "Sunday Schools," was born on September 14th, 1735, in a house adjoining the Deanery. His father was the original proprietor and editor of the *Gloucester Journal*. By the death of his father on September 7th, 1757, Robert Raikes succeeded to the responsible position of sole proprietor and editor of this well-known paper. In 1758 he removed from the Blackfriars to the house in Southgate Street, now so closely associated with his name and work. In the "Old Rectory," opposite the south porch of this his parish church, Robert Raikes kept his school, Mrs. Sarah Critchley, grandmother of Mr. Packer, once clerk of this church, assisting him as its teacher. In 1802 he retired into private life. He had two small estates at Saintbridge and Matson, yet he remained in the city, and resided in Bell Lane till April 5th, 1811, when he was taken suddenly ill and died in less than an hour. His body was buried in the family vault in the south chancel aisle of this church.

It is sad to reflect on the thoughtless manner in which the memorials of so many of the old city families have been displaced, and in some instances destroyed. There are still in the crypt, under the north aisle of the nave, a great many costly, and in some particulars fine, works of art fading away. There are notably the upper portion of the Bell tomb, also the armorial shields of the Pury family, as well as those of the Nourses, Purlewents, Goughs, Tomes, and others. There, too, are the wooden benefaction tables, containing particulars relating to the gifts that were made to the poor of this parish by several of those whose monuments are thus disregarded. Could not this neglect be remedied and these records of the past restored to the site, or as near as may be suitable and convenient without creating any annoyance or displeasure to anyone? There is no doubt that this could be done, and the bare walls of the church would be much improved if only a will and desire existed to do justice to the memory of good men who lived before us.

The only account of the origin of the very valuable service of church plate is contained in an entry in the churchwardens' books at the date of the gift, but who the giver was is not known.

1718. "Sent from London by an unknown hand for the use of ye Communion—

Two Silver Salvers, Two challices with covers,
One large plate to collect ye offerings,
All double gilt with gold wayeing 133 oz. 4 dwts.,
with this Inscription on each piece:

Glory to our Dear Redeemer;
Given to the Parish Church of
Saint Mary-de-Crypt."

# OSRIC OF GLOUCESTER.

By THE REV. C. S. TAYLOR, M.A., F.S.A.,
*Vicar of Banwell.*

The visit of our Society to Gloucester last year revived to some extent the interest in the question whether Osric of the Huiccians, to whom traditionally the foundation of the minster at Gloucester is assigned, was identical with Osric who half a century later was king of the Northumbrians, and who is said to have been buried in Gloucester Abbey. The matter has never been thoroughly discussed in our *Transactions*, and there seems to be room for a paper upon it, more especially as neither in the *Dictionary of National Biography* nor elsewhere has it been adequately treated. It will be best to consider first what we can learn about Osric of the Huiccians, then to take the history of the king of the Northumbrians, then to consider what reasons there may be for thinking that the two are identical, and finally to see what real reasons there may be for connecting either or both of them with St. Peter's Abbey at Gloucester.

Apart from late monastic traditions, which we may set aside for the moment, there are only two sources of information about the earlier Osric—the Foundation Charter of the minster at Bath and a passage in Bede, *H. E.*, iv. 23. The authenticity of the Bath charter has been discussed quite recently in our *Transactions*,[1] and it is only needful to add to what is there said that just as the names of two bishops of the West Saxons—Leutherius and Hedda—appear among the witnesses to Osric's Bath charter, so also do the names of two successive bishops of Sherborne—

[1] Vol. xxiii. 135.

Forthere and Herewald—appear among the witnesses to the Synodical Act of Archbishop Nothelm concerning Withington in 736 or 737; and Bishop Stubbs, who objected to the earlier charter on this account,[1] makes no such objection to the later document. We shall be safe, therefore, in considering Osric's charter as it stands in the Bath Chartulary to be a trustworthy copy of a genuine document. It bears date November 6th, 676, and Osric tells us that he had already founded a bishop's See, and in accordance with his purpose to found monasteries—some of men and some of women—in different parts of his realm, he is proceeding to found a house of women at Bath. We should gather from this that he had ruled the Huiccians for some time—not perhaps for very long, for as yet there was no bishop at Worcester, though the See was ready for him. No doubt the delay was owing to the fact that Tatfrid, the first bishop-designate, had died unexpectedly,[2] and his successor was not yet appointed. Florence of Worcester, writing about 1118, places the appointment of Bosel, the first actual bishop, in 680, and connects it with Oshere rather than with Osric.

Bede mentions Osric in connection with Oftfor, the third Bishop of Worcester.[3] He is speaking of five inmates of St. Hilda's House at Whitby who became bishops—Bosa at York, Ætla at Dorchester, Oftfor at Worcester, John at Hexham, and Wilfrid II., who was consecrated to York in 718. Concerning Oftfor, he says that after studying at Whitby he went on to Canterbury, and then to Rome; and that on his return to England he turned aside to the Huiccians, over whom King Osric then reigned, and remained there (*multo tempore*) a long while: that then, on account of the physical weakness of Bishop Bosel, he was consecrated bishop in his room during the vacancy in the See of Canterbury after Theodore's death by Wilfrid, who was acting as bishop in the Midlands. The See of Canter-

[1] *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, iii. 129, 338.

[2] Bede, *H. E.*, iv. 23. [3] *H. E.*, iv. 23.

bury was vacant from September 19th, 690, when Archbishop Theodore died, till June 29th, 693, when Berctuald was consecrated in his room by Godwin, Archbishop of Lyons; but unfortunately this gives only a slight clue to the period of Osric's reign, because there is nothing to show the duration of the *long while* of Bede. A charter of Oshere, who styles himself king of the Huiccians, granting land at Penitanham to the Abbess Cutsuida, is passed by Kemble, and must be dated about 693. We may say, therefore, that Osric of the Huiccians was well settled in his realm by November, 676, and that he had probably ceased to reign by 693. Whence and how he came, and whither and why he went, we do not know, any more than we know for certain anything about his parentage, for the conjecture of Bishop Stubbs[1] that he was son or kinsman of Eanfrid, a former king of the Huiccians, is quite unsupported by evidence. There is nothing but late monastic tradition to connect him with Oswald, Oshere, and the Abbesses of Gloucester.

Osric, king of the Northumbrians, however, stands out clearly in the light. He succeeded to Cenred in 718, and died on May 9th, 729. The Chronicle says that he was slain, but Bede only mentions his death, saying moreover that he had determined (*decrevisset*) that Ceolwulf, who followed him, should be his successor.[2] None of the contemporary records tell us anything about his parentage; but Symeon of Durham, writing between 1104 and 1109, speaks of him as a son of King Alfrid: Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiæ, cap. xiii. "Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCXXIX. pontificatus Ethelwoldi quinto Osricus rex Northanhymbrorum filius Alfridi regis vita decessit."[3] The editor of the Rolls Series edition of *Symeon of Durham* points out[4] that this *Historia* must have been written between 1104, when the writer witnessed the translation of the relics of St. Cuthbert, and 1109, when Prior Turgot became Bishop

[1] *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, ii. 16.

[2] *H. E.*, v. 23. [3] Rolls Series, i. 39. [4] Introduction, xix.

of St. Andrews. This was four centuries after the time of Osric, as long an interval as that which separates us from Henry VII.; but Mr. Plummer points out that as the passage of the *Historia* quoted above, except the words referring to Ethelwold and Alfrid, is taken from the chapter of Bede just referred to, Symeon must have had some authority which we have not for the addition.[1]

And now we begin to enter on our difficulties, for who is meant by "Rex Alfridus"? It is right to refer in this connection to a "Series Regum Northymbrensium" printed in *Symeon of Durham*, ii. 390, part of which runs thus: "Aldfrid frater Egfridi, 19; Osred filius Aldfridi, 11; Coenred consanguineus, 2; Osric filius Aldfridi, 11." With regard to this the editor writes thus: "There is reason to think that the whole passage proceeds from a Hexham hand, writing in the second half of the twelfth century."[2] The reference in the latter passage is clearly to the son of King Oswy, who reigned over the Northumbrians from 685 to 705, and who is called by Bede Aldfrid. It must not, however, be assumed that the King Alfrid of the former passage is identical with the Aldfrid of the latter one, and it should be mentioned that Bishop Stubbs considered it not impossible that Osric of the Huiccians and Osric of the Northumbrians were the same person, who was a son of the eldest son of Oswy, called by Bede Alchfrid;[3] and any clearly-stated opinion of one whose knowledge of old English history was unrivalled deserves careful consideration. With regard to the assertion of Symeon of Durham that Osric of the Northumbrians was a son of Alfrid, we must notice that Bede mentions no such relationship, and we find no notice of it in the Chronicle or in the early historians, Florence of Worcester, Henry of Huntingdon, or William of Malmesbury. Still, Bede excepted, these are all southern authorities, and it is quite possible that evidence might have survived in the north that

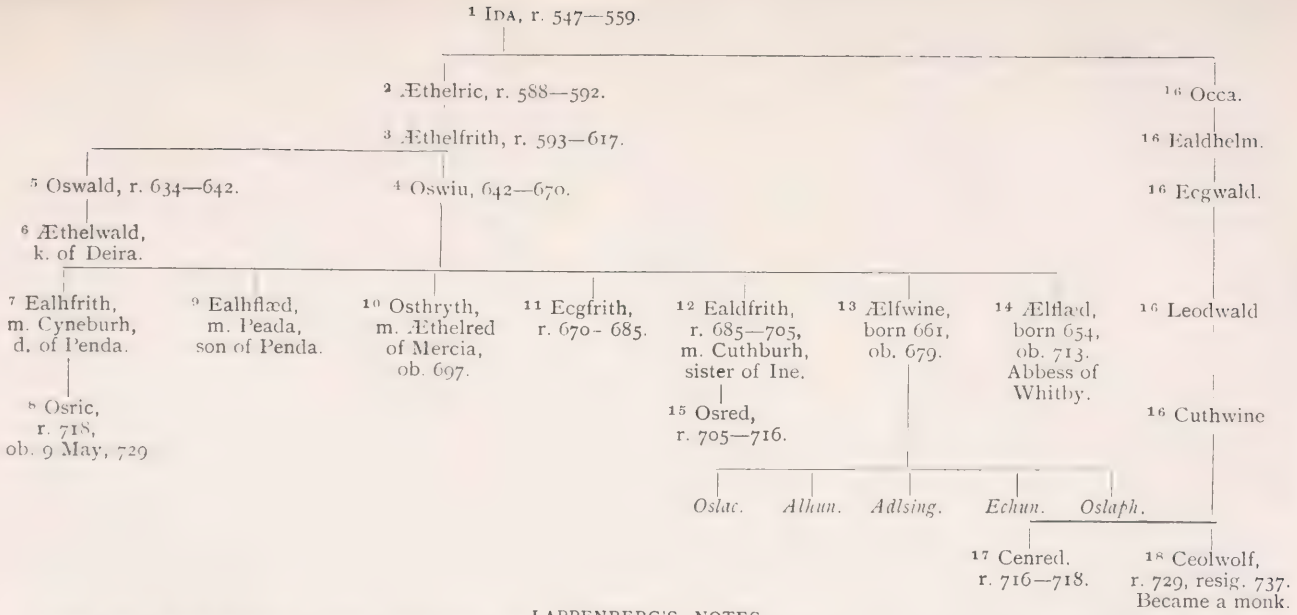
[1] Bede, ii. 337. [2] Vol. ii. 389.

[3] *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, iv. 101.

was not open to them. The following table, taken from that given in Lappenberg's *England under Anglo-Saxon Kings*, ed. 1881, will illustrate the royal succession in Bernicia. Lappenberg's spelling is retained.

It will be seen that the crown passed during two centuries in direct succession from Ida to Oswy, except when the dynasty of Deira intervened; but no question that concerns us arises till we come to the children of Oswy. It must be remembered that among the old English the strict law of Primogeniture did not hold; the crown was, as a rule, confined to the royal stock, but any member of the royal stock was eligible for choice by the Witan. Alchfrid, the eldest son of Oswy, married Cyniburga, daughter of Penda, king of the Mercians, during her father's lifetime, and persuaded her brother Peada to become a Christian. At the battle of the Winwaed, on November 15, 655, when Penda was slain, Alchfrid fought under his father, and was made under-king of Deira in the place of Ethelwald, son of St. Oswald, who had passed over to the side of Penda. He gave to St. Wilfrid the minster at Ripon, which he had before bestowed on Scottish clergy, and, with the consent of King Oswy, sent him to Gaul to be consecrated; also he was present at the Synod of Whitby in the early part of 664. When Benedict Biscop visited Rome for the second time in 665, Alchfrid wished to go with him, but King Oswy forbad the visit;[1] after this he disappears from history. In Bewcastle churchyard, Cumberland, there is the tall shaft of a memorial cross which bears the date "the first year of the king of this realm, Ecgfrith." It also bears the names of Cyniburga, wife of Alchfrith; of Cyneswitha, widow or daughter of Penda, and so mother or sister of the wife of Alchfrith; and of Wulfhere, king of the Mercians, 656 to 675, brother-in-law of Alchfrith. The date is 670. The main inscription on the cross runs thus: "This thin token of victory Hwætred, Wothgar, Olwfwolthu set up after (in memory of) Alchfrith, once king and son of Oswy." Then: "Pray for the high sin of his

[1] Bede, *Historia Abbatum*, §2.




LAPPENBERG'S NOTES.

1 Sax. Chron., a. 547, Fl.W. Sim. Dunelm., who assigns a reign of eleven years only to Ida, Nennii App. 2 The names of the sons of Ida are from Simeon and the Chronol. ap. Wanley and Petrie. 3 Sax. Chron., Fl.W. Nennius; Beda, iii. 6. 4 Beda, iii. 14, 15; iv. 5, Nennii App. 5 Beda, iii. 7, 9. 6 Beda, iii. 14. 7 Beda, iii. 14, 21. 8 Beda, v. 23, and Smith, *ib.* Sax. Chron., a. 729. The descent of Osric seems uncertain. 9 Beda, iii. 21. 10 Beda, iv., 21; Sax. Chron., a. 697. 11 Beda, iv. 19, 26; Eddius, c. xxxix. 12 Beda, v. 18; Sax. Chron., a 705; W. Malm. 13 Beda, iv. 21, Nennii App. 14 Beda, iii. 24; Acta Sanct., t. ii. p. 178. 15 Sim. Dunelm. 16 Sax. Chron., a.a. 720, 738, Fl. Geneal. 17 Chron., a. 716. 18 Sax. Chron., a.a. 729, 731, 737; *a 731 makes him son of Cutha, and grandson of Cuthwine, C.S.T.*

soul."[1] What it means we know not exactly, for we do not know what happened between 665 and 670; but Bede[2] tells us that among the difficulties of Oswy's troubled reign was the fact that his own son Alchfrid fought against him. This can hardly have happened before 664, and Oswy's refusal to allow Alchfrid to go to Rome in 665 may suggest that the relations between him and his son were at that time somewhat strained. For us the interest of Alchfrid's history lies in the fact that, supposing Osric of the Northumbrians to have been a son of Alchfrid born not long after his marriage, about 653, with Cyneburga, daughter of Penda, he might have been rather more than twenty years of age in 675 when his uncle Ethelred became king of the Mercians; and if Ethelred desired at the moment to appoint a viceroy of the Huiccians, he might very naturally appoint his nephew, the son of Alchfrid, for the presence of the names of his Mercian kinsmen on the Bewcastle cross shows that the memory of Alchfrid was tenderly cherished among them. There was indeed a cause for this: the family of the heathen Penda became a family of saints, and the Mercian royalties whose names stand on the Bewcastle cross owed their Christianity to Alchfrith, who persuaded Peada, the eldest son of Penda, to become a Christian; and so it is that the memorial cross of the man to whom Bristol and Gloucestershire, with the rest of Mercia in the first instance, owed their Christianity is still standing in Bewcastle churchyard.

It will be noticed that Bede speaks of the son of Oswy as Alchfrith, while the form of the name of the father of Osric found in the twelfth-century *Symeon of Durham* is Alfrid, but too much stress ought not to be laid on this difference; for Florence of Worcester, writing about 1118, calls the son of Oswy in four places Alhfrid,[3] and in one place Alfrid, with a variant Alhfrith,[4] thus giving us in one place for this son of Oswy the exact form given by his contemporary, Symeon of

[1] An excellent description of this beautiful cross is given in *The Conversion of the Heptarchy*, by the Bishop of Bristol [S.P.C.K.].

[2] *H. E.*, iii. 14. [3] *M. H. B.* 531, 532. [4] *M. H. B.*, 638.

Durham, for the father of Osric. We may therefore for the present take Symeon's Alfrid to refer to either of the two sons of Oswy—the one whom Bede calls Alchfrith, or the one called by him Aldfrid—noting, however, that it would be more likely that the *ch* in Alchfrith would first be softened into *h* and then disappear than it would be that the *d* in Aldfrid should drop out altogether.

When Oswy died on February 15th, 670, if Osric was the son of Alchfrith, he would, according to our ideas, be heir; but he cannot have been more than six years old, his father's reputation was probably under a cloud, and it is not probable that anyone thought of him as a possible king. Ecgfrith, son of Oswy, who was thirty-five years of age, was chosen, and reigned till he was slain in battle, on May 20th, 685, and as he left no children it was natural that his brother Aldfrid should succeed him. Aldfrid died on December 14th, 705. Eadwulf, about whom nothing seems to be known, held the sovereignty for two months, when Osred, an eight-year-old son of Aldfrid, was placed on the throne by the Ealdoman Berhtfrith, who maintained him there. He proved to be an unworthy ruler, and was slain near the border of his kingdom in 716, William of Malmesbury, who wrote about 1128, implying that Cenred and Osric, his two successors, had a share in his death.

Cenred, who obtained the throne on the death of Osred, was but remotely connected with the sons of Oswy, as Ida, who died in 559, was the last common ancestor. Whether Osric was the son of Alchfrith or of Aldfrid, it seems likely that he was the last surviving male heir of the family of Oswy, for Ecgfrith died childless, we hear of no other children of Aldfrid, and the other son of Oswy, Ælfwin, was slain in 679 at the battle of the Trent, aged about 18.[1] It is true that the genealogies at the end of Nennius state that Alguin, meaning apparently Ælfwin, begat Oslach, Alhun, Adlsing, Echun, and Oslaph,[2] but the authority is a very poor one, and the statement is exceedingly improbable. If

[1] Bede, *H. E.*, iv. 21. [2] *M. H. B.*, 75.

Osric was the last male person of the house of Oswy he was deliberately passed over in 716 by the Witan, and a very remote connection of Osred was chosen in his stead. With regard to this we may note that it would be more likely that they would pass over a son of Alchfrid, who had never reigned as an independent sovereign, and who had apparently rebelled against his father Oswy, than a brother of Osred and a son of Aldfrid, who had reigned long and wisely. Cenred reigned only two years, and according to William of Malmesbury[1] met with a violent death, as did also Osric, who succeeded after a reign of eleven years. Bede, as we have seen, states that Osric had designated Ceolwulf, a brother of Cenred, as his successor. This looks very much as if the house of Oswy and of Æthelric, son of Ida, from whom Oswy was descended, had been set aside in the person of Osric in favour of Cenred, who was descended from Occa, another son of Ida; that in Osric the house of Æthelric was restored, and that finally Osric, before a violent end, had decreed that Ceolwulf, a brother of Cenred, should succeed him.

With regard to the question whether Osric, king of the Huiccians from about 676 to 690, was identical with Osric of the Northumbrians, 718 to 729, there is not much real evidence one way or the other. There is, in fact, little to set against the theory, except the difficulty of accounting for Osric's position from 690 to 716, and the fact that the name *Osric* was not an uncommon one, especially among the Northumbrians. A stronger antagonistic point is no doubt the fact that a man who began to reign about 677 must have been at least seventy-four years of age in 729, and this was no doubt a great age for a king when kings so often came to an untimely end. But St. Hilda was sixty-six when she died in 680, and Ethelbald, who reigned over the Mercians for forty-one years, and Offa, who governed them for thirty-nine years, must have been probably well over sixty when they died, while if the Chronicle is to be trusted Cynric, who

[1] Rolls Series, *G. R.*, i. 58.

invaded Britain with his father Cerdic in 495, survived in full activity till 560.

A very strong point in favour of the identification is the way in which Bede speaks of Osric of the Huiccians in *H. E.*, iv. 23, when he is describing Oftfor's work on his return from Rome. The passage runs thus: "*Et inde cum rediens Britanniam adisset, divertit ad provinciam Huicciorum, cui tunc rex Osric præfuit:* And when on his return from thence he had reached Britain, he turned aside to the province of the Huiccians over which King Osric at that time ruled." We may notice first of all that if this Osric were a son of Alchfrith, the friend of St. Wilfrid, it was very natural that Oftfor, the monk of Whitby, should turn aside to visit him on his return from Rome; but the point lies in the way in which Bede speaks of Osric's rule: "The province of the Huiccians over which King Osric at that time ruled." Bede tells us[1] that his history was completed in 731, and, as we have seen, Osric ruled over the Northumbrians from 718 to 729; certainly then the most natural meaning of the sentence would be that Oftfor turned aside into the province of the Huiccians over which King Osric—that King Osric whom we in Northumbria have known so well—then ruled. Of course, the words may mean *a King Osric*, but under the circumstances that would not be their natural meaning, and we should have expected that Bede would have added some description to differentiate such an one from the well-known Osric of Northumbria. The translation in the old English paraphrase of Bede's *History*—"ferde tha in Hwicca mægthe thær wæs tha Osric cyning"—does not help us, even if a Mercian or West Saxon translation made 150 years after Bede's death could be regarded as having much authority on the point. Assuming the identity of the two Osrics, we might well imagine that Ethelred had set his nephew over the Huiccians on his accession to the throne of the Mercians in 675, and it is possible that Aldfrid summoned him to Northumbria on his accession in 685. For since

[1] *H. E.*, v. 23.

Ecgfrid had left no children, and Osred, the son of Aldfrid, who succeeded in 705 on his father's death, was not born till 697, it is probable that in 685 Aldfrid and Osric were the only living male descendants of Oswy, and if that were so it would be very necessary that Osric should be resident in Northumbria. We can thus see why Oshere was reigning over the Huiccians about 693. Aldfrid married Cuthburh, sister of Ine, king of the West Saxons; the Chronicle simply says that they separated during his lifetime, but Florence of Worcester writes: "Ante finem suæ vitæ connubio carnalis copulæ ambo pro Dei amore renunciavere." They seem to have lived as did Ecgfrid and St. Etheldreda, or the Confessor and the Lady Edith, and it is likely that Osred was the child of another mother, born after the separation. That Osred succeeded his father after a short period of tumult in 709 can hardly have been considered a slight to Osric, though his supersession by so remote a connection as Cenred in 716 without doubt was so; but it was atoned for when Cenred disappeared in 718, and Osric became king in his room. Of course this is imaginary, but it fits in very well with the known facts of history without in any way straining them.

Now, assuming that we are dealing with but a single Osric, and he the son of Alchfrid, we have to consider what real reason there is for thinking that he had anything to do, whether in life or death, with the Abbey of St. Peter at Gloucester. The evidence for this connection depends to a great extent on documents belonging to St. Peter's Abbey itself, and unfortunately these writings are very late. The editor of the Rolls Series edition of the *History and Chartulary of St. Peter's* states that the short history which precedes the chartulary closes during the abbacy of Walter Froucester, 1381–1412, and that the text of the history is founded on two fifteenth-century documents;[1] so that these authorities are some seven centuries later than the time of Osric, or about as far removed from him as we are from King John.

[1] Introduction, x.

There is also a document in the *Gloucester Cathedral Register* which professes to be a grant by Burgred, king of the Mercians, which also confirms an earlier grant, which it recites, of Ethelred, king of the Mercians.[1] Kemble does not notice the charter; Mr. Birch prints it in two portions, but it is not at all likely that either portion represents a genuine charter.

The first portion recites that King Ethelred granted to Osric the land of 300 tributarii at Gloucester, and to Oswald 300 cassates at Pershore, and that he afterwards granted leave to Osric to found a monastery at Gloucester. But the final clause presents considerable difficulties. It states that the charter was granted in 671 (written in full, not in figures), being the fifth year of the reign of King Ethelred, in the presence of Archbishop Deusdedit, Bishop Saxulph, and the people of Mercia, when a synod was gathered at the well-known spot, Ethcealchy. As Ethelred began to reign in 675, the date is wrong; Archbishop Deusdedit ruled at Canterbury from 655 to 664, and there seems to be a confusion with the name of Archbishop Theodore, who had held his See for seven years when Ethelred came to the throne; Sexwulph held the See of Lichfield from 675 to 691. Ethcealchy is evidently intended for *æt Celchyth*; but though many synods were held there in later days, the oldest extant document which purports to have been granted there bears the date of 788,[2] a century later than the date claimed for the foundation of St. Peter's Minster. The notes of time and place are hopelessly incompatible with each other, and it is evident that the document is the creation of a period far later than the time of King Ethelred. Nor is the document which purports to be a confirmation by King Burhred in 872 in much better case. Instead of beginning, as old English charters almost invariably did, with a preamble, it passes at once into a narrative form, telling how Osric appointed his sister Kyneburg abbess, and how she was succeeded by

[1] *Gloucester Cathedral Register*, "A. Cartularium Saxonicum," i. 60, ii. 535.

[2] K.C.D. cliii.; C.S. 254.

Eafe; it then includes a list of donations, beginning with Eafe and ending with Burgred himself, and finally it closes with a confirmation in the ordinary form. The date is written in full, "anno dominicæ incarnationis octingentesimo septuagesimo secundo." Archbishop Ceolnoth is mentioned as being present at the gemot, and his name appears among the witnesses. The indiction is correct, and all the five bishops mentioned might have been present at a gathering in 872; a suspicious point is the appearance of the Archbishop, for it seems clear that he died on February 4th, 870. It seems certain that the document attributed to Burhred must also be set aside as a fiction.

It is not at all unlikely, however, that the list of donations incorporated in the grant may be of the time of Burhred, with whom, as we have seen, it ends; at any rate, it is clear (if the printed copies accurately represent the manuscript) that the fifteenth-century scribe did not understand his text. In the sentence, "Similiter etiam postea *Ælmund in Geldinge* xxx. tributariorum in Æoport dedit," the italicised words should run, "*Ælmund Ingelding*, Ælmund son of Ingeld"; just as the Chronicle gives the pedigree of King Ethelwulf, thus: [1] "Æthelwulf wæs Ecgbrehting, Ecgbryht Ealhmunding, Ealhmund Eafing, Eafa Eopping, Eoppa Ingilding,—Ethelwulf was son of Egbert, he of Ealhmund, he of Eafa, he of Eoppa, and he of Ingild," who was, however, not the same person with the father of Æelmund. The Gloucester Æelmund was clearly Ethelmund, Ealdorman of the Huiccians, who was slain in battle at Kempsford on the accession-day of King Egbert. That Ingeld was the father of Ethelmund is clear from an original Worcester document, dated 770, by which Uhtred, Regulus of the Huiccians, granted to his faithful thegn Æthelmund, son of Ingeld, who had been "dux et præfectus" of Ethelbald, king of the Mercians, the land of five "tributarii," at Easton on the Salwarpe.[2] The sense of the passage is therefore this:

[1] Anno 855.

[2] C.S. 203. Compare K.C.D. cxvii.; C.S. 202.

"Ethelmund, son of Ingeld, gave (the land) of thirty *tributarii* at Æoport," and we are able to identify this land. Ethelric, son of Ethelmund, made a disposition of his property in 804,[1] in which the following passage occurs: "Verum etiam do xxx. manentium under Ofre ad Gleawecestre"; Æoport, therefore, is the same place with Over beyond the Severn, and it would seem that Ethelric had retained the land for his lifetime; indeed, it is more than likely that both father and son were merely restoring church property which had been alienated. This list of donations also contains the following passage: "et Bibladene, Otintone et Beganworthan Adelbadui rex dedisset et pro eo quod percussit Adelmund filium Oswaldi cognatum ejus." I can find nothing about this Adelmund, son of Oswald, but the sentence is more likely to be an ancient record of a forgotten fact than a fabrication of a late writer, and it would seem very likely that the whole of the charter attributed to Burhred is a fiction founded on this ancient list of donations.

It is clear, then, that the Gloucester documents cannot be relied on to carry the tradition of Osric further back than the beginning of the fifteenth century, and it is needful to go further afield. In the early part of the twelfth century there was a long quarrel between the Archbishop of York and St. Peter's Minster concerning the manors of Standish, Leach and Oddington, and the abbot and monks of Gloucester strove to strengthen their claim by sending to Pope Eugenius III. (1145—1153) a series of letters from the heads of religious houses in the neighbourhood testifying to their right. Among these is a letter from Thomas, Abbot of Pershore, in which the following passage occurs:[2] "Nam sub rege Merciorum Adelredo, emensis inde jam quadringentis, et eo amplius a subregulo Hunctiorum [Osrico][3] qui regnum postea Nordanhymbrorum obtinuit, in quibusdam earum fundata, quibusdam vero a quodam Ælmundo

[1] K.C.D. clxxxvi. C.S 313, 314.

[2] *Hist. et. Mon. Glouc.*, Rolls Series, ii. 111.

[3] A blank is left in the Cartulary for this name.

ingeldinc,[1] et rege itidem Merciorum Bernulfo postmodum ampliata, omni etiam ætate nostra sic easdem continue possedit, quod nunquam eis ad momentum destituta fuit." The fact that Ingelding is given in its correct form, and that the name Osric is omitted in the text, testify both to the antiquity of the tradition recorded, and to the absence of any immediate promptings on the part of the monks of Gloucester; for if they had sent to the Pershore monks something which they wished to have placed on record they would surely have set down the name of their reputed founder. Thus we have the tradition of the identity of the two Osrics, and of the foundation of St. Peter's Minster by Osric of Northumbria carried back to a period within four hundred and twenty years of his death. It is to be noted also that, granting the truth of the tradition, Pershore was a natural place for its survival, for the foundation of Pershore by Oswald formed a part of it as much as did the foundation of Gloucester by Osric.

The Rev. C. Plummer, C.C.C., Oxford, kindly drew my attention to a passage in a composite manuscript in the Cottonian Library, Vitellius, C. viii., which is assigned by Liebermann[2] to the third or fourth decennium of the twelfth century; the passage runs thus: "Anno dñi dclxxxi rex Merciorum Adelredus ministro suo Osrico qui provincie Wictiorum tunc præfuit, dedit terram trecentorum tributariorum in urbe Glaorna, ubi constructa et dedicata est ecclesia in honore Sc̄i Petri." With regard to this extract Dr. G. F. Warner, Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts in the British Museum, who was good enough to refer to the passage, writes thus: "Cottonian Vitellius, C. viii., is a good twelfth-century hand, or rather that portion of it which includes the entry referring to Osric's foundation (f. 8); this may be earlier than your letter of 1145—1153." It will be seen that the words relating to Osric's governorship of the Huiccians

[1] The editor of the Rolls Series Edition calls this "evidently a corrupt reading"; it is, of course, as we have seen, the true one.

[2] *Ungedruckte Geschichtsquellen*, p. 18.

closely resemble those of Bede in *H. E.*, iv. 23; and the words describing the extent of his endowment are identical with those of the Gloucester Charter. Mr. Plummer in his edition of Bede[1] mentions an eleventh-century manuscript of the *Historia* which belonged to St. Peter's, Gloucester, and in which at the mention of Osric in iv. 23 is written in a later hand: "Fundator mon. Glouernis sub Ethelredo rege." With regard to this Dr. Warner writes: "The addition in Royal MS. 13, C. v., p. 159, is in a hand of the latter part of the fifteenth century," and it does not therefore carry us as far back even as the History and Chartulary.

We are able, therefore, to carry back the tradition which unites the two Osrics, and connects the foundation of St. Peter's Minster with Osric of Northumbria to the first half of the twelfth century, or to within about four centuries of his death; and seeing that we do not possess any records at St. Peter's itself older than the beginning of the fifteenth century, this is probably as much as we can expect. We are therefore in a position to bring to a point what has been said.

Bede tells us that an Osric was king of the Huiccians in the reign of Ethelred, the Bath Charter shows us that he was a founder of churches, he had set up a bishop's See at Worcester, and established a nunnery at Bath, and as he expressed an intention of founding minsters in various parts of his dominion it would be more than likely that he would set up one at Gloucester. He had ceased to rule in 693, and he or another Osric ruled the Northumbrians from 718 to 729. With regard to the years between 693 and 718, if, as seems likely, Osric of the Huiccians was the son of Alchfrid, eldest son of Oswy, owing to the childlessness of Ecgfrid and apparently of Aldfrid until quite late in his reign, he would have been after the death of Oswy in 685 very near to the throne, and so most likely resident in Northumbria. That he was set aside in favour of Cenred in 716, that he supplanted Cenred in 718, and that finally before

[1] Vol. i. cxiv.

a violent end he decreed the throne to a brother of Cenred, would seem to represent the struggles of two rival families for the throne. The theory that the two rules of Osric represent different phases of a single life certainly accords well with the recorded facts of history.

Concerning the tradition that St. Peter's Minster was founded by Osric, King of Northumbria, we find it in the oldest documents of the house that remain to us, and we find it in other documents which carry us back to within four centuries of his death; as far back, that is to say, as under the circumstances we could expect to trace it. The least certain part of the tradition is the burial of Osric in St. Peter's, for, of course, the late tomb now called by his name proves nothing; the monks might be relied upon to take care that their founder should not lack a tomb, and that if anyone, greatly daring, should desire to behold the remains of the founder he should not be disappointed in his hope.[1] But here again the facts of history so far as they can be ascertained are in accordance with the tradition. Osric died in 729, at that time Eadburga is said to have been Abbess, who is also said to have survived till 735, when she was buried by Bishop Wilfrid, of Worcester. A lady named Egburga appears among the correspondents of St. Boniface, 716–722 as deploring the death of her brother Oshere;[2] if, as is likely enough, from the similarity of name, we may identify her with the Abbess of Gloucester, the letters to St. Boniface would show that there really was a lady Egburga, a sister of Oshere, living about the time of the burial of Osric. But the Abbess of Gloucester is represented to have been a sister of Kyniburg and of Osric, and if this

[1] Violators of sepulchres would do well to have in mind the evil fate which it is said befell Thomas II., Archbishop of York, in consequence of his curious gazing on the relics of St. Oswald at Gloucester: "Summo igitur diluculo jam pransus, scrinio effracto, extraxit ossa, firmavit oculis animi credulitatem. Continuoque templum egressus, valetudinem letalem incidit. Qua invalescente per dies, post iiii$^{or}$ menses animam dereliquit." *William of Malmesbury*, G. P. Rolls Series, 263$^{n2}$.

[2] *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, Egburga, Oshere.

were so the burial of Osric in St. Peter's would be a most natural thing. As we have seen, Osric succeeded Cenred in 718, not without suspicion of bloodshed, and Osric himself was slain in 729. Under the circumstances Ceolwulf, the brother of Cenred, who succeeded Osric, would hardly have felt any great desire that the remains of Osric should rest in Northumbria, while the Abbess Eadburga, his sister, and the people of Gloucester might well have wished that the body of their founder should rest in his own minster. If all the circumstances of the case are taken into consideration, the burial of Osric at Gloucester, so far from being improbable, seems to be the very thing which would be most likely to happen.

On the whole we may conclude with regard to the Osric tradition that it agrees well with the history of the period so far as this can be ascertained, certainly there is nothing which tells directly against it; and that we shall be justified in considering that, in its main outline at any rate, it is true.

# NOTES ON ROMAN ROADS,

## WITH AN ACCOUNT OF EXCAVATIONS ON THE FOSSE ROAD AT RADSTOCK AND ON A ROAD NEAR NORTH STOKE, BATH.

By JAMES McMURTRIE, F.G.S.

It will be within the recollection of many of the members of this Society that at the Spring Meeting on the 25th May last, on the outward journey from Yate to Malmesbury, the first halt was made at "the Fosse," when the Bristol Secretary, Mr. John E. Pritchard, gave some interesting particulars of this great Roman road and its course from Cirencester, through Bath, to Ilchester. In response to a call from the Secretary, the writer shortly described certain excavations which he had made some years before on the line of the same road at Radstock, about eight miles south of Bath, where the entire structure of the road had been laid bare for the inspection of the Bath Field Club, and afterwards of the Somerset Archæological Society.[1]

The chief Roman roads within easy reach of Bristol were two in number. One of these ran approximately north and south, the other east and west, through the city of Bath, which, if not a great military centre or station like Gloucester, was a place of much importance in Roman times, as evidenced by its temples and baths and by the numerous Roman villas which had been discovered in the adjacent country.

The first of these roads, generally known as "the Fosse," extended from Seaton in Devonshire, by Ilchester to Bath, and thence by Cirencester and Lincoln to the Humber. It entered Gloucestershire on the north at Morton-on-the-

[1] See *Proceedings of the Bath Field Club*, 1881, and of the *Somerset Archæological Society*, New Series, vol. x., 1884, part 2.

Marsh, and those who attended the last Spring Meeting would remember the passing glance they had of it where it crossed the main road from Yate to Malmesbury, about three miles before reaching the latter town. It was there a green lane between two ordinary hedgerows, with little externally to mark its great antiquity.

Proceeding southward, it approached Bath by way of Bannerdown and Batheaston, where it formed a junction with the great road from Silchester, and entered the city by the North Gate. Leaving Bath by the South Gate, now commemorated by Southgate Street, it crossed the Avon where the modern bridge now stands, and continued its course up Holloway on the south bank of the river. By what means the river was crossed did not appear, but the late Prebendary Scarth thought it probable that there might have been a Roman bridge there formerly. Collinson had said that vestiges of a ford were visible early in the eighteenth century.[1]

From Holloway it proceeded southwards over Odd Down, and crossed the Wansdyke where the old turnpike gate overlooking Dunkerton formerly stood. It followed to a large extent the present main road through Dunkerton, Radstock, Stratton-on-the-Fosse (to which it gave its name), Nettlebridge, Oakhill and Shepton Mallet.

In many parts the road had been incorporated with the modern highway and its structure lost; but where, after the manner of Roman roads, its straight course over hill and dale was too steep for modern traffic, the turnpike road had to wind round the hill to find an easier gradient, and so left considerable stretches of the ancient road undisturbed.

One of these, about one and a half miles in length, could be seen at Dunkerton. Another undisturbed portion, more perfect still, was met with at Radstock, where for nearly a mile and a half it formed the boundary between that parish and Midsomer Norton, as it also formed the boundary between many other manors and parishes for miles along its course,

[1] Vol. i. 101.

which fact was in itself an evidence of its great antiquity. It was here that in the year 1881 the writer made a trench across it for the Bath Field Club, and in 1884 reopened and widened the same excavation for the Somerset Archæological Society, particulars of which would be given later on in this paper.

The diagram[1] exhibited showed its relation to various objects of ancient date which had been met with in the same neighbourhood, including a magnificent barrow, 220 yards south-east of the road, formerly opened by Skinner, of Camerton, with what result was not known.

Collinson, speaking of this spot, said: "Large foundations of buildings have been seen, and that near the Fosse were heretofore found some large bones and part of a tasselated pavement."[2] The Ordnance map also showed Roman remains of considerable extent on both sides of the road at this point, but the plough had been busy since those days, and not a vestige of all this now remains, save only the magnificent barrow already alluded to, which it is to be hoped will be handed down to future generations.

The diagram also showed the sites of various Romano-British relics and earthworks within the parish of Radstock which had been discovered by the writer in recent years, and which might possibly form the subject of a future communication to the Society.

A third length of road, comparatively undisturbed, extended from Oakhill to Shepton Mallet, whence it passed on towards Ilchester and Seaton. Nothing special seemed to be known about this particular section of the road, but it should be mentioned that on the summit of the Mendips, near Beacon Hill, it crossed another reputed Roman road leading from Old Sarum to Uphill, which, so far as the writer knew, had never been examined. In the same locality also there were two ancient camps, one called the Bulwarks and the other Masbury, which from its position and large extent must have been a place of great strength and importance. A little to

[1] The diagram referred to has not been included in the *Transactions*.

[2] Vol. iii. 329.

the west of the Fosse at Shepton Mallet an ancient potter's kiln was discovered about the year 1864, with many articles of buff-coloured pottery both in the kiln and on the adjoining premises, the whole of which relics were now well cared for in the local museum at Shepton Mallet, and would well repay a visit.

The second great Roman road referred to, commonly, but erroneously, called the Via Julia, extended from Silchester to Caerleon, passing through Bath from east to west. It is said to have had even a longer range, having had a western extension from Caerleon to St. Davids, as well as one eastwards from Silchester to London and thence to Dover, so that in fact the Romans had a continuous communication from Dover to St. Davids.

By common consent its general course had been established from Bath through Weston to Bitton, but for the most part there was little to show for it. On the southern slopes of Lansdown, however, immediately under Prospect Stile, there was an ancient road leading towards North Stoke, which was supposed to represent it, and it was here that during the past winter the writer had the advantage of seeing it opened under the auspices of Mr. A. Trice Martin. The excavations then made and their results would be further explained in a later part of this paper.

Before describing the explorations on the two great roads under consideration, it might be useful to notice the general structure of Roman roads in this country, including various roads which had been cut through by Mr. Haverfield, of Oxford, in Cumberland and Westmoreland and at Ackman Street, near Stonesfield; also by Mr. W. T. Watkins in Lancashire and Cheshire, and he directed attention to the great dearth there was of recorded sections in the various districts of England.

In an early paper "On the Via Julia and its Course by Silbury,"[1] by the late Prebendary Scarth, he had described

[1] *Proceedings of the Bath Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club* vol. i., part 4, p. 16.

an investigation into the course of the road by Silbury Hill in which he took part, from which it would appear that seven or eight trenches were there cut across the road at intervals of from 50 to 100 yards, and that each section revealed the road and the accompanying ditch on one or both sides, but no detail measurements had been recorded to show the layers or materials of which it was composed.

It would be within the recollection of the members that the same line of road was cut through in several places on Durdham Down some years ago, under the direction of Professor Lloyd Morgan, Mr. Hudd, Mr. Trice Martin, and Mr. Pritchard, when the general section was found to be as follows:—

| | Ft. | In. |
|---|---|---|
| Turf and soil ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 0 | 3 |
| Layer of large stones about 10in. × 8in. × 7in. | 0 | 7 |
| Red-coloured earth ... ... ... ... ... ... | 0 | 6 |
| Sandy earth with fragments of limestone ... | 1 | 0 |
| Total ... ... ... ... ... | 2 | 4 |

beneath which lay the mountain limestone formation.

For comparison with all this, the writer had been indebted to a book by Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., on the *Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon* (chap. vii., p. 221) for the following concise description of a typical Roman road, which would be best given for the most part in his own words:—

"The Romans began the construction of their roads by making two parallel furrows the intended width of the road, and then removed all loose earth between them till they came to the hard solid ground, and they filled in this excavation with fine earth, hard beaten in. This first layer has been called the 'Pavimentum.'

"Upon it was laid the first bed of the road, consisting of small square stones nicely ranged on the ground, which was sometimes left dry, but often a large quantity of fresh mortar was poured into it. This layer has been styled 'Statumen.'

"The next, sometimes called 'Rudus' or 'Ruderatio,'

consisted of a mass of small stones broken to pieces, and mixed with lime in the proportion of one part of broken stones to two of lime.

"The third layer or bed, which has been termed 'Nucleus,' was formed of a mixture of lime, chalk and pounded or broken tiles or earth, beaten together; or of gravel or sand and lime mixed with clay.

"Upon this was laid the surface or pavement of the road, to which the technical term 'Summum dorsum' or 'Summa crusta' has been given. It was composed sometimes of stones set like the paving stones in our streets, and sometimes of flagstones cut square or polygonally, and more often of a firm bed of gravel or lime. The roads were thus raised higher than the surrounding ground, and on this account the mass was termed 'Agger.'

"The Roman roads as a rule consist of one carriage way, but sometimes were made of two carriage ways divided by a footpath."

It was not to be supposed that all such roads conformed to this high standard. No doubt some were ancient British roads constructed with no great skill, and afterwards adapted to Roman requirements, and of those wholly constructed by the Romans themselves all were not alike. The great trunk lines of communication and military roads may have conformed to the higher standard, while others of less importance would be less elaborately formed, but in such roads as the Fosse and the so-called Via Julia good work might be expected, and the following particulars of the explorations made there might be of interest to the Society.

The general appearance of the Fosse road at Radstock where it crossed the elevated table-land between the Clandown and Midsomer Norton brooks was very striking, and to those who had not hitherto seen it, it would well repay a visit. It is approached from both ends by gradients so steep as to be impassable for modern traffic, and, being entirely distinct from the modern highways, it had come down with little alteration from Roman times. In describing it, Collinson

says: "This road for about a quarter of a mile is visible almost in its original state, being raised high above the side dikes, about 6 feet broad, and having a convex surface. As this is not at present a publick road, it may possibly remain a monument of antiquity for many ages to come."[1]

In order to explain its general appearance, attention is directed to the accompanying photograph, which the Rev. H. H. Winwood, of Bath, had taken when the road was first cut through, showing both the road in its wild condition when overgrown with brushwood, and a portion of it as it appeared when the brushwood had been cleared away before cutting the trench about to be described.

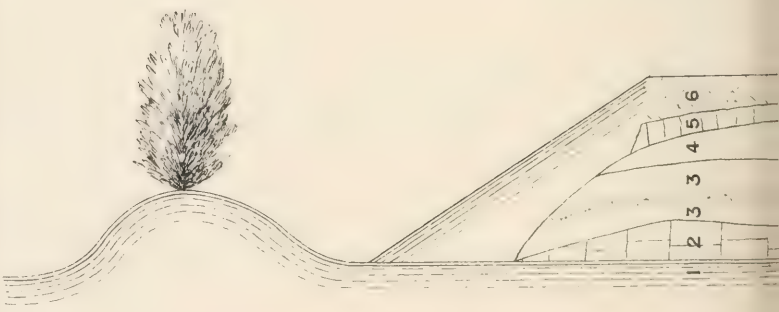
In opening a section of the road on that occasion, the writer was curious to ascertain how far it might be found to agree with the typical section already quoted, and he was much gratified to find that this local example entirely agreed with the description given, layer corresponding with layer throughout the entire structure.

In order to explain its formation with greater exactness, he had a section prepared showing the structure of the road and its elevation above the adjoining land.[2]

After cutting through the Roman work, the original soil was met with at a level corresponding as nearly as possible with the surface of the adjacent fields, the whole formation of the road having been raised above that level. The ditches on each side were little, if at all, below the level of the soil, the hedge banks having been thrown up so that they also rose above the adjoining land. These hedgerows were necessarily shown in the photographs and section, but they might be entirely ignored in considering this beautiful example of Roman work, for the road was doubtless constructed originally through a country only partially cleared, and many centuries may probably have elapsed before the lands were enclosed and fences became necessary for the purposes of cultivation. With the hedgerows omitted, it might be taken to show the road as it left the hands of the Roman engineers.

[1] Vol. ii. 457. [2] See section appended.

ROMAN RO

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RADSTOCK.

Y LATER DATE.
RSUM, OR SUMMA CRUSTA

STATUMEN.

Y HOLBORN, E C

Taking the section in ascending order, the writer would observe that, although the bed of soil reached was the true representative of the "Pavimentum" already described, there was nothing in its appearance to show that it was fine earth pounded and beaten in in the manner mentioned.

Upon its surface there rested a layer of rubble stones exactly corresponding with the "Statumen," and in this instance no lime would appear to have been used. This course, which was 5 inches thick in the centre, thinned off on each side, and each bed in ascending order became more convex in form.

Next in order was a bed of concrete of a very distinctive character, about 1 ft. 3 ins. in thickness, agreeing with the layer termed "Rudus." It was for the most part exactly what Mr. Wright described, being "a mass of broken stones mixed with lime," the greater part of the material being of a yellow colour, and evidently derived from the lias or oolite formations of the locality. Near the middle of the bed, however, there was a thin layer of red marl and pebbles, entirely different from the other material although amalgamated with it. Nothing exactly like it occurred near the spot, and it might have been derived from the dolomitic conglomerate of Stratton-on-the-Fosse, which it most resembled.

Resting on the bed last described was another layer of finer material, consisting apparently of inferior oolite or lias pounded very fine, mixed with lime and well rammed, which there was little difficulty in identifying with the "Nucleus" bed. It was 10½ inches deep in the centre, but thinner at the sides, its upper surface being rounded off very symmetrically.

On this was laid a course of paving stones, which had evidently formed the surface of the Roman road. It was from 4 to 5 inches in thickness, and appeared to consist of the thinner beds of the lias common in the neighbourhood. According to Mr. Wright, this course, termed "Summum dorsum," was composed sometimes of stones set like the paving stones in our streets and sometimes of flagstones

cut square; but in the Fosse road at Radstock it was found to consist of flat stones of all sizes and shapes, put together as random work, the lime in which they were set having probably been poured in afterwards. In this way the whole surface of the road had been so firmly cemented together that, on removing it during the excavations, the stones more frequently split through the solid than separated at a joint.

In the first instance only 18 inches or so in length of this pavement had been laid bare, and beyond the smoothness of its upper surface there was no apparent evidence of the purposes to which the road had been applied. Feeling assured, however, that a closer examination of a larger surface area could not fail to throw light on this part of the subject, the ancient surface was afterwards laid bare for 3 or 4 yards in length, and the writer was more than gratified to find two clearly defined ruts worn in the stone by the wheels of chariots or other carriages which it was fair to assume must have passed over it during the Roman occupation. These wheel tracks were 2 ft. 9 ins. apart, and fully 3 feet from centre to centre, so that, although the surface of the road was only about 6 feet in width, it was sufficient for the passage of the narrow vehicles then apparently in use. The rut on the northern side of the road was deeper and more sharply defined than the other, being about 2 inches wide and 2 or 3 inches deep, while that on the south side was wider, shallower, and less distinct.

Since the above paper was written the writer has had the advantage of making a second cutting through the Fosse road at Radstock, at a point 108 yards to the west of the former one, this later exploration having been made for the Bath branch of the Somerset Archæological and Natural History Society, and he has been indebted to the Secretary of that Society for permission to add the following particulars.

Speaking generally, the later section, which was made on the 4th July, 1904, agreed bed for bed with the previous one, the only differences being that the Dorsum bed or upper surface of the road was in this instance inferior in its con-

VIEW OF THE FOSSE AT RADSTOCK, BEFORE EXCAVATION, WITH THE FOREGROUND CLEARED OF BRUSHWOOD.

struction to that in the previous cutting, although exhibiting the same well-defined ruts as before, and that the layer of red marl and pebbles in the No. 3 or Rudus bed occurred at the bottom of that bed instead of near the middle.

The width at the base was found to be 16 feet and at the top 8 feet, the section taken in ascending order being as follows:—

| | Ft. | In. |
|---|---|---|
| 1.—Pavimentum; apparently the natural soil of the country on which the road was constructed. | | |
| 2.—Statumen; rubble stones ranged on the ground ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 0 | 6 |
| 3.—Rudus; red marl and pebbles ... Ft. 0 In. 2 | | |
| concrete of yellow colour 1 4 | | |
| ——— | 1 | 6 |
| 4.—Nucleus; finer concrete ... ... ... ... | 0 | 5 |
| 5.—Summum Dorsum; rough stone paving ... | 0 | 4½ |
| 6.—Superficial metalling and earth of later date ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 0 | 3 |
| Total ... ... ... | 3 | 0½ |

A specimen of the former section was obtained and deposited in the Bath Museum, where it can still be seen. On re-opening the road a second time for the Somerset Society, it was further discovered that there were two distinct layers containing rut marks, from which it appeared that the original surface of the road, having got worn into ruts, it had been repaired by covering it with a fresh course of paving, which also in its turn had got worn into ruts. In the additional photograph now submitted some of these wheel tracks are clearly visible, although not nearly so strikingly as in the original. Their appearance thus laid bare after the lapse of 1,500 years was most impressive, calling up forcibly to the imagination the Roman legions which must have passed over this road in ages long since passed away.

The ancient surface of the road had in later times been

covered by a layer of broken stones and earth, as shown in the section, which might probably have been done for the more convenient passage of stock from one field to another, the only purpose it at present served, but of the time and circumstances under which this layer was added nothing was known.

With regard to the height of this road above the adjoining land, it had been remarked by Mr. Wright that "when they came upon higher ground the Romans were not in the habit of entrenching, but they often raised the embankment higher even than in the plain, probably as a measure of precaution." In his account of Batheaston, Collinson also states that "the general method of the Romans was to raise all their roads in Britain as high as possible above the common level, in order that they might be enabled to overlook the country through which they passed and guard against the ambuscades of the Britons lurking in the woods";[1] and this may probably account for a feature which, from an engineering point of view, might appear to be unnecessary.

It should be added that, although careful watch was kept during these excavations, no coin, implement or pottery was found, nor anything to fix definitely the age of this interesting example of Roman work.

The exact course of the road from Silchester to Caerleon between Bath and Bitton had never been established. After leaving Bath it might have followed the upper Bristol road by Weston and Kelston to Bitton, but it had generally been connected with an ancient road which was traceable on the southern slopes of Lansdowne, and had generally been supposed to be of Roman age.

It was in order to examine carefully the structure of this road that a few members of the Bath Field Club met there during the past winter, as already stated, when certain excavations were made under the direction of Mr. A. Trice Martin, which would now be described. Operations were commenced in a field immediately under Prospect Stile,

[1] Vol. i. 99.

THE TOMB AT RADSTOCK, AFTER EXCAVATION, SHEWING ITS STRUCTURAL FORMATION.

which is approached from Weston by a steep and somewhat inaccessible path. Along the lower side of this field there ran this ancient road, grown green with grass and bounded by a low hedge and shallow ditch on either side, its width being about 16 feet, the level of the road being rather under that of the adjoining fields, with the hedge banks rising above that level. Having selected a suitable spot, a strip of turf about 18 inches wide was removed right across the road, laying bear its surface, which was met with at a depth of a few inches below the grass. The surface of the road was found to have been coated to a width of 13 feet with rounded stones about 2 inches in diameter, having a weathered appearance such as if they might have been gathered from the adjoining land, the question being whether the road had been merely metalled with a coating of land stones, or whether it was a rough description of cobble pitching.

Having thus stripped the surface, the next thing was to cut a trench through the structure of the road right down to the clay, which was the subsoil underlying it, but nothing of any very distinctive character, and certainly nothing distinctly Roman, was discovered. The entire section was approximately as follows:—

| | Ft. | In |
|---|---|---|
| Turf and soil ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 0 | 6 |
| Rounded stone metalling or pitching ... ... | 0 | 3 |
| Under ballast apparently of oolitic debris ... | 0 | 7 |
| Total depth to under clay ... ... ... | 1 | 4 |

The metalling occupied almost the entire width of the road, leaving only a narrow margin for a shallow ditch on each side.

A second trial was made some distance away from the first, but with exactly the same result, except that the substratum was a rubbly stone, and it was difficult to believe that this road could really be of Roman age; but Mr. Martin assured those present that the roads exposed during the

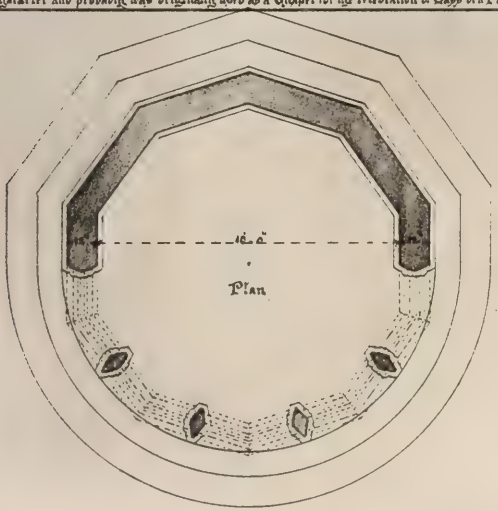
recent explorations within the Roman station at Caerwent were no more distinctive in character, nor even as well constructed, as the one he had just opened.

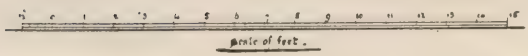
Passing westwards into the next field the road became much narrower, being hardly 6 feet in width, and in places much overgrown with brushwood, and in this condition it extended in the direction of North Stoke, but time did not admit of its course being followed. A third trial was made in this narrow part, which showed immediately under the soil the same upper layer of rubbly stone resting on a thin layer of under ballast, and no new feature presented itself.

Those present were much struck with the terraced character of the slopes at this point. These terraces, which cannot have been natural, were rather suggestive of the terraced gardens and vineyards of Southern Italy, and the late Prebendary Scarth had pointed out that traces of Roman agriculture and horticulture were still to be met on many of the hills in the vicinity.

No further information can be given at present respecting these trials at North Stoke, which so far had been very inconclusive, but further explorations were contemplated in the coming year.

The Building known as The King's Board, which originally stood in Westgate Street, Gloucester, between the Churches of St Mary de Grace and Trinity. The materials for this drawing were obtained from the remains now standing in the grounds at Sibberton Court, near Gloucester, and from historical records. The building is of a distinctly Ecclesiastical character and probably was originally used as a Chapel for the celebration of Mass or a Preaching Cross.




# THE KING'S BOARD, GLOUCESTER.

# THE SO-CALLED KING'S BOARD AT TIBBERTON COURT, NEAR GLOUCESTER.

By M. H. MEDLAND, F.R.I.B.A.

The remains of the elegant and ornate little building known as The King's Board, which now stand in the pleasure grounds at Tibberton Court, originally stood between the churches of St. Mary de Grace and Trinity, in Westgate Street, in the city of Gloucester, possibly opposite the premises now occupied by Mr. C. Morgan, the tailor. This was the site of Jemmy Wood's house. By Act of 23 Geo. II., A.D. 1749, entitled "An Act for taking down several buildings and enlarging the streets and market places in the city of Gloucester," the King's Board[1] and many other buildings that stood in the streets of Gloucester were taken down and cleared away as "obstructions." It was accordingly removed from Westgate Street to Maribon Park, the seat of Charles Hyett, Esq., who was one of the Commissioners for the carrying out of the Act. Maribon Park occupied the site of the present Gloucester Police Station and the County Gaol. It is to be presumed that the King's Board stood on part of the site of the County Gaol, for when that building was erected it (the King's Board) was removed to the property of a Mr. Smith in Barton Street, now occupied by the head-master of the Boys' Endowed School. This property fell into the hands of Mr. Chadborn, solicitor, and the late Mr. William Philip Price, who married Mr. Chadborn's daughter, removed it to Tibberton Court.

The remains indicate a building of the end of the

[1] The King's Board is mentioned in the inventory of the buildings to be removed attached to the Act.

fourteenth century. This would accord with the tradition that it was given to the city by Richard II.

A. The building is decagonal in plan. Five sides are pen and are divided from each other by elegantly moulded piers, surmounted by elaborately cusped arches, the spandrels between which and the cornice are filled with carved subjects illustrative of incidents in the Life and Passion of Christ.

In order, apparently, to get large spaces for the carvings, the angles of the cornice are formed over the points of the arches. This is a most unusual and ingenious arrangement. The building is in such a good state of preservation that I think a very considerable portion must have been reworked at the time it was rebuilt at Tibberton. It seems incredible hat a building in oolitic limestone should have remained in such a perfect condition for 500 years. The cornice, with its carved pateras, gives evidence of alterations, as recorded as having taken place in 1691. The pateras appear to have been sawn from their original beds and to have been inserted in another and coarsely moulded cornice. In rebuilding the carved subjects have not been placed in chronological order. They are as follow:—

B. THREE SEATED FIGURES.—Head-dresses like the more modern "Cap of Liberty."

C. THE ENTRY OF CHRIST INTO JERUSALEM.

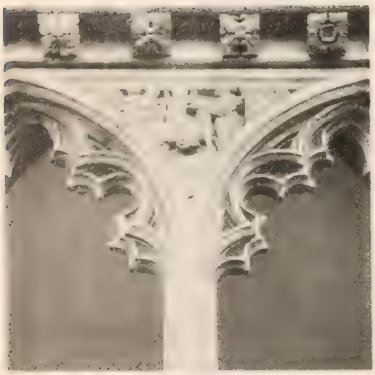
D. THE LAST SUPPER.—St. John lying on Jesus' breast. Figures mostly inactive. Christ points to Judas who, on the near side of the table, extends his right hand to "dip the sop," his left hand grasps the bag.

E. THE SCOURGING OF CHRIST.—Christ bound to a stake. Four partly-draped figures, armed with rods or scourges, three of whom are actively engaged, whilst the fourth is resting.

F. THE RESURRECTION.—Christ emerging from the tomb; the right hand elevated in the act of blessing, the left hand grasping the resurrection cross. Two angels with extended wings in the act of adoration. Two cherubs at feet. This form of cherub on seventeenth and eighteenth-century tombs

A.

B.



C.

D.

THE KING'S BOARD, GLOUCESTER.

E.

F.

G.

H

THE KING'S BOARD, GLOUCESTER.

and monuments was evidently borrowed from mediæval examples.

G. A FLAGELLATION.

The spandrels are sunk and moulded on the inside.

H. The moulded piers, with their varied bases, are worthy of note as an instance of the ingenuity of the old masons, and evidence of their love for their work.

Now let us see if we can ascertain the original appearance of this interesting building, and the use for which it was intended.

I have obtained the following notes from Fosbrooke's *History of Gloucester* and from the Corporation Records, which will, I think, enable us to form a good idea of its original appearance.

Fosbrooke says: "Martin, who wrote in 1759,[1] describes it as a small market house, over which was a cistern of Severn water. Over the arches and on the sides and ends of it were carvings of scriptural subjects. At each corner was a large statue, and on the upper part a cross upon a pyramid between four effigies, and it had battlements round it. It was formerly assigned to the sale of butter and cheese, and was built or repaired by King Richard II. In 1752 the upper part was repaired, and about 1691 was ['the upper part'] taken down that a large cistern might be erected as a reservoir of Severn water from the West Gate."

The Corporation Records say: "This structure formed part of the markets, being assigned to the sale of butter and cheese. In 1654 there was a new roof put to it, covered with lead, at a cost of £45 18s. 3d. Again repaired in 1686, at a cost of £12 3s. 6d." (See Book E, p. 83.)

"1694, June 7th. Whether Mr. Thomas Nicholls shall have liberty to build an engine and waterworks below the Westgate bridge in this city, and that the same be soe expressed in his articles from the Mayor and Burgesses thereof."

"1694, August 13th. Whether Mr. Thomas Nicholls

[1] *Nat. Hist. of Eng.*, p. 354.

shall have liberty to build a cisterne for his water works upon the King's Board in this City, he repairing and making good the same soe that noe damage may be done thereby, and being repaired to keep it soe during his terme with the water works, and also preserving and repairing the present figures about the King's Board and making good those that are wanting, and provided that the said Thomas Nicholls doth not build his cisterne above one foot higher than the battlements of the King's Board."

Being decagonal on plan, and the existing carvings being of such a sacred character, I think we may reasonably assume that the figures surrounding the edifice represented ten of the apostles, St. John and the three Marys standing on brackets, on the pyramidal roof, surrounding the crucifix. Judas would necessarily be excluded from the company of the apostles.

Now comes the question as to the original intention and use of this very distinctly ecclesiastical structure. I am disposed to think that it was built either for a preaching cross or for a chapel in which mass might be celebrated in public.

"The First Prayer Book of Edward the Sixth speaks in the rubrics in the Communion Service and in the Service itself four times of a 'Table,' four times of 'the Altar,' and once of '*God's Board*.' The Second Prayer Book of Edward the Sixth, reintroduced by Elizabeth, speaks throughout in the rubrics of the Communion Service and in the Service itself, of a 'Table' and of '*God's Board*' (in the present book altered to 'Table'), and of the Communion itself as 'a supper,' 'a feast,' or 'a banquet.'"[1]

It must be remembered that the word Board was formerly used in the sense of Table, as indeed it is now in the common expression "Board and Lodging." We find in Wycliffe's translation of the New Testament (St. Matthew xv. 2) "the litel whelpis eten of the crummys that fallen down fro

[1] "The Ornaments Rubric," by E. Blackwood Wright, *Nineteenth Century Magazine*, August, 1903, pp. 231, 232.

the bord of her lordis"; and in St. Luke xxii. 21, "the hond of one bitrayinge me is with me in the bord." So in the Communion Service in the Book of Common Prayer, in all the editions of the book previous to the last the rubric before the prayer of humble access ran, "Then shall the priest, turning him to God's Board—or kneeling down at God's Board—say in the name," &c.; but in 1662 the expression the Lord's Table was substituted for God's Board. It would be easy to multiply instances of the use of this expression, and it surely may very well be that the name "The King's Board" means God's Board presented to the city by King Richard II.[1]

I cannot imagine that it could have been designed for a market for it is so small, only 10 ft. in diameter, and the openings between the piers are only 2 ft. 10¼ in. The somewhat similar market crosses at Malmesbury, Salisbury and Chichester are much larger and are open on all sides. At Malmesbury the openings have dwarf walls between the piers on which the produce was and is placed, the vendors being inside, under cover.

"The Dominicans arrived in England in 1220. St. Francis saw that the parochial system is admirable, but that it was unsuited to a town; that in the towns the attempt to work it had ended in a miserable and scandalous failure. The friars, whose office was that of preacher, came as helpers of the poor town clergy just when those clergy had begun to give up the task as hopeless."[2]

The friars were the evangelisers of the towns in England for 300 years.

[1] On looking at Murray's *Dictionary* I find the following references to the word "borde": "Moral Ode 307 in Lumb. *Hom.*, 150. 'Before Godes borde.' *Trin. Col. Hom.*, 93: 'Mi borde is maked cumeo to borde.' *Ancr. R.*, 324: 'Hwon gredie hundes stondeo bineoren the borde.' Ayenb. 235: 'Hi serveth at Godes borde.' *Pilgr. Perf.* (W. de W., 1531), 10: 'With humble and reverent love go to the borde of God.' *Primer in Liturgies Edward VI.* (1844), 375. 'Pray we to God the Almighty Lord, to send His blessing on this board.' Featly, *Clavis Mist.*, 340. 'To present ourselves at the Lord's board.'"—M. H. M.

[2] Dr. Augustus Jessop, *The Coming of the Friars*,

Such being the case, what could be more necessary than for them to have a suitable preaching station in the most prominent place in a city or town, and what decorations could be more appropriate for a preaching station than striking events in the life of the Master and representations of His personally-chosen disciples—the men whose lives the friars were endeavouring to follow?

There were in Gloucester establishments for Black (Dominicans), Grey (Franciscans), and White (Augustinians) Friars. Remains of the first two still exist not far away from the original site of the King's Board. Preaching stations of this kind were not uncommon; there is one in the churchyard at Iron Acton in this county, but the most famous of all was the preaching cross to the north-east of St. Paul's Cathedral, known as Paul's Cross.

"One of the last sermons preached from Paul's Cross, on May 30th, 1630, was attended by Charles I., who came in state to St. Paul's, and first heard the service in the Cathedral, and after that took a seat prepared for him in the open air before the door to hear the sermon. The abolition of bishops, deans and chapters took place in 1642, and was followed, in 1645, by the destruction of St. Paul's Cross in the churchyard, which had been for *many ages* the most noted and solemn place in the nation for the gravest divines and greatest scholars to preach at."[1]

Viollet le Duc, the eminent French architect, in his *Dictionnaire d'Architecture*, gives an illustration of a somewhat similar edifice, a chapel with open sides, at the entrance to the cemetery at Avioth (Meuse). In the centre of this chapel was a stone receptacle for gifts, which assistant priests obtained for the repose of souls in purgatory. Mass having been said, the priest left the chapel and advanced to the platform to exhort the faithful to pray for the departed, and then gave his benediction.

[1] *Old England*, p. 207

GLOUCESTER.
(RESTORED.)

MALMESBURY.

# Notices of Publications.

THE DOMESDAY BOROUGHS. By Adolphus Ballard. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1904.

This book is practically a collection of materials in elucidation of the section on Boroughs (pp. 172–219), in Professor Maitland's *Domesday and Beyond*, and it may be said at once that the work is very carefully done. The experience of the writer as Town Clerk of Woodstock and Clerk to a Board of Guardians has no doubt been of service to him, and the book is a good instance of the way in which the experience of to-day may be turned to good service in working out the history of days gone by. Mr. Ballard does not go beyond his master, and herein no doubt he is wise, for the great Record is singularly patient of rash and ill-considered interpretations; they pass, and it abides, and it reveals its secrets, so far as it does reveal them, only to careful study and cautious interpretation. The central idea of the book is the distinction which is drawn by Dr. Maitland between boroughs of heterogeneous and homogeneous tenure. The difference certainly exists. There were places inhabited by burgesses, like Gloucester and Winchcombe, which clearly were in 1086 or had been in earlier times heads of districts; and there were also places, like Bristol, to which no such headship had attached, in which estates were held by different owners. And there were other places, like Tewkesbury and Pershore where also were burgesses, in which apparently all the property was vested in a single owner. Dr. Maitland and his follower Mr. Ballard think that these two classes of boroughs were essentially different, and that the *differentia* lay in the simple or multiple tenure of property within them. It may be questioned whether the difference was an essential one. In the first place, on this theory the words *burgus* and *burgensis* must be taken to be technical terms, used accurately with a definite meaning. But the Domesday scribes were foreigners, and we may think that people who would write *Tumbeli* for Ubley, *Tedestrop* for Adlestrop, and *Jodena Wirda* for Edingworth could hardly be trusted implicitly in their use of technical terms. Again, the same place was called by different titles. In the first nine lines of the Gloucestershire Record we hear of the *Civitas*, the *Burgus*, and the *Villa* of Gloucester, and lower down the *Burgus Comitis* is mentioned. Mr Ballard (p. 71) says the *burgus* was the fortified area, and the *civitas* the geldable area, and we shall probably not be far wrong if we interpret the *villa* as the

area under the rule of the borough authorities. Gloucester, however, was a *civitas* in 1022;[1] and it is probable that, at any rate in this case, the three terms are synonymous, and are loosely used for the same thing. But if so, how can we be sure that we have precision e'sewhere? Again, it is difficult to believe that any definite meaning was attached to the term *Burgensis*. We may form some idea of what is meant by a *burgensis* in Bristol or Gloucester or Winchcombe, but what are we to make of the twenty-five burgesses at Bedwin, or the thirty at Warminster, or the sixty-six at Tilshead? We can hardly say that they all occupied properties in Wiltshire boroughs. Each of these three places was an ancient estate of the Crown, and there would be no need to tie their inhabitants to a borough, or to connect estates in a borough with them. There may possibly have been a mint at Bedwin in the Confessor's days,[2] but there is nothing to distinguish Warminster or Tilshead from any ordinary country estate of the Crown. At Ipswich there is an instance of a *burgensis* who is distinctly called a *servus*,[3] but in later times residence in a borough conferred freedom. It is certainly true that in many towns, and especially in the large towns which were heads of districts, estates were held by other owners than the lords of the town; for instance, under Earl Hugh's manor of Bisley we find entered, "In Gloucester xi burgesses paying lxvi pence." But this need mean no more, and probably does mean no more, than that Earl Hugh owned some eleven houses in Gloucester, and attached them for purposes of convenience to his Gloucestershire estate of Bisley. The Gloucester houses would, of course, be burdened with the customary duties of the borough, just as Bisley itself would bear the customary threefold burden of liability to military service, and repair of bridges and fortresses; but there seems to be no reason at all to read into the connection between the borough house and the country estate any modification of the ordinary duties which lay on either or both. That the connection was accidental and not essential is shown by the house in Oxford which had been attached to Taynton, referred to by Mr. Ballard on pages 32 and 34. The Confessor had given the minster at Deerhurst to Baldwin, a mon of St. Denys; he also gave to him Taynton with all that belonged to it, including no doubt the house at Oxford. Afterwards Baldwin became Abbot of St. Edmundsbury, and the Conqueror gave Deerhurst and Taynton to St. Denys.[4] In Domesday Taynton appears as a possession of St. Denys, and the Oxford house as belonging to the Abbot of St. Edmund s Baldwin had evidently retained it, though the estate to which it had been attached had passed from him when he went to St. Edmund's. It is to be noted that there is no hint in the Record that Baldwin had acted wrongly, though the great Abbey of St. Denys

[1] K. C. D., mccexvii. [2] Ruding, i. 142. [3] D. B., ii. 392, b.
[4] Dugdale, *Mon.*, iv. 664.

would not have been likely to suffer wrong in silence. The argument founded by Mr. Ballard on this incident, therefore, falls to the ground. One would not wish to differ unadvisedly or lightly from the author of *Domesday and Beyond* on such a point as this, but it is not easy to see in what way the hold on a house in a borough attached to a rural property differed from the hold by a manor on an outlying portion, or the hold on an outlying manor by the hundred to which it belonged. Again, it is difficult to believe that the transfer of one or more houses by the lord of one of Mr. Ballard's simple boroughs to other ownership would alter the whole status of the borough, and make it something essentially different from what it had been. The capital boroughs of the Mercian shires, and the chief boroughs of districts south of the Thames, were no doubt essentially different from the other boroughs in their districts; but it is difficult to see that the fact that the Bishop of Worcester held two houses in the king's borough of Bristol, and the Bishop of Coutances held ten, caused Bristol to be essentially a different borough from Tewkesbury, which was apparently in the king's hand altogether.

But though we may not agree with Mr. Ballard's main thesis, there is much help to be drawn from the book. In particular there is an excellent passage on page 11 with regard to the need of studying Domesday as a whole. Much mischief has been wrought by working at little bits of the Record. It is interesting to find that with the exception of Lincolnshire, Gloucestershire is the only Mercian shire which contained two county boroughs; Lincoln and Stamford answering to Gloucester and Winchcombe. Stamford had not altogether lost its ancient dignity as one of the five boroughs of the Northmen, and as the entry of the estates of the Church of Evesham shows,[1] Winchcombe had once been head of a *ferding* of its own at least large enough to contain all the Gloucestershire estates of the abbey. In so great a mass of details there are of course some slips. It is not the case that only Gloucestershire villages contributed to Bristol (p. 62). Ten houses in Bristol and two in Bath are entered under the Bishop of Coutances' Somerset manor of Bicheurde—Bishopsworth Arthur in Bedminster. This probably only means that the houses in the two boroughs had come into the possession of the Bishop, and that he had attached them for convenience to this manor; there is no reason at all for supposing that this tiny estate was specially contributory to Bristol and Bath. Again, the large render of iron from Gloucester (p. 61) was probably prepared rather in the dependent Forest of Dean than in the borough itself; and it would have been from this forest iron that Roger de Laci's Gloucester burgess rendered four plough shares, and his smith two shillings, at Quenington. The mint at Bristol dates from the time of Ethelred (p. 119), and not only from that of Cnut

[1] D. B. i. 166.

With regard to two points serious complaint must be made. Mr. Ballard identifies the Wiltshire royal estate of Theodulveside with Devizes, which does not appear till the reign of Henry I., and then as the site of a castle erected by Roger, Bishop of Sarum, at the point where his manors of Potterne and Cannings met the manor of Rowde. Canon Jones, of Bradford-on-Avon, however, identifies Theodulveside with Tilshead, eight miles south of Devizes, and gives good reasons for his opinion.[1] Mr. Ballard may be right in his opinion, but he ought not to have entered in the index *Devizes*, with two references to the Domesday entry concerning Theodulveside, for this is to veil the statements of the Record under a private interpretation. Again, he gives many references to documents in Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus* without the stars with which Kemble marked those which he considered doubtful. Kemble was no doubt liable to mistake, but it is misleading to quote all these documents as though they were of equal authority.

The book is a very careful and apparently accurate compilation, and it will be most helpful to students of Domesday. The Record was not intended to tell us what was the nature of a borough, or the qualities which constituted a burgess, and it is doubtful whether definite information on these points is to be obtained from its pages; but Mr. Ballard has done really good work by collecting into a convenient form the information which is given. There are some useful sketch maps of certain boroughs with the estates connected with them; there is also a well-arranged index.

MEDIÆVAL ENGLAND, 1066—1350. By MARY BATESON. London: T. FISHER UNWIN, 1903.

THIS book is one of the "Story of the Nations Series," and it will take a worthy place among its fellows. The period covered extends from the Norman Conquest till the time when the Black Death altered the whole system of the life of the country; and the story of the life of the period is grouped under three ages: Norman feudalism, 1066—1154; Lawyers' feudalism, 1154—1250, the period during which the constitutional reforms of Henry II. bore fruit; and Decadent feudalism 1250—1350, when especially through the work of Edward I. the king ceased to be a feudal lord, *primus inter pares*, and became a monarch, a constitutional monarch indeed, but still a monarch, standing alone and apart from his subjects. Each of these periods is treated in a series of similar subjects, which may be grouped thus: The King, the Nobility, the Church and Education, Country Life, Town Life; so that it

[1] *Domesday for Wiltshire*, p. 236.

is possible to follow the treatment of one or more of the subjects, apart from the others, if need be, through the whole period covered by the book. The purpose of the work is stated to be to keep social rather than political facts in view, and to illustrate the course of social history from contemporary documents. This purpose has been kept well in sight throughout, and as the original sources of the period have been used not only extensively, but also wisely and to good purpose, there is much more living interest in the story as it is told than there often is in histories of England. In each of the three sections of the book there is a good account of the methods and expenses and manners of the royal household, illustrated by references to writers of the period. We are led to see how the great body of Domesday tenants, the villeins and bordars were degraded almost to the condition of the serfs, till at last the social revolution wrought out by the Black Death ensured to them their freedom. The process of growth of freedom of the boroughs is well traced out, from the amorphous collections of traders and craftsmen, and labourers, with their guilds and customs and franchises, yet with little or no more organised or common life than was possessed by the inhabitants of villages, which the Conqueror found, on to the period of the trade charters of Henry II., till under Richard I. we find an organised "*communa*" in London, which was imitated sooner or later by all the more important boroughs. During the period covered by the book the boroughs had developed from being mere formless masses of people into self-governing communities. London was already a shire, and Bristol became a shire in 1375, possessing the powers and enjoying the privileges of the ancient shires of the realm. If it were not that the writer is a recognised authority on borough history it might be thought that what is said about contempt for trade is too broadly expressed. No doubt among the Norman nobility, an insolent and alien class, the feeling was strong, but after all the sovereign, and no class of his subjects, is the fountain of honour, and when Henry II. made Robert FitzHarding the Propositus of Bristol, Lord of Berkeley, thus placing him among the foremost landowners of the shire, and Edward III. in November, 1340, imprisoned the merchants William and Richard de la Pole, together with several of the law officers of the Crown, we should gather that the Plantagenet sovereigns counted traders worthy of positions of dignity and confidence, and no less of punishment if they misbehaved. Shortly after this period Michael de la Pole became Chancellor in 1383, and Earl of Suffolk in 1385. The essential selfishness of mediæval town life is well brought out. The chapters on the Church are thoroughly well done, and the development of the monastic system is well traced from the time when the Conqueror's bishops and abbots brought order and energy into it, through the foundation of the houses of Austin Canons, the Cluniac, Cistercian and other orders, till by the end of the period the

monasteries are beginning to lose their commanding position as homes of true religion and useful learning, and are becoming the abodes of wealthy landowners, and the energies of their inmates are being frittered away in mutual quarrels. The friars have come to take the place of the monks as teachers, and the monasteries are already sending their most capable inmates to the universities. Few new religious houses are founded, and it is evident that the monastic system is being superseded as a spiritual power. The statement that at the time of the Conquest most of the English cathedrals were in the hands of Benedictine monks is a strange one. This was so certainly at Canterbury, Winchester and Worcester; Exeter and Wells were under canons living under the monastic rule of Chrodegang of Metz; but the other cathedrals were under canons with no very strict rule. It is true that Benedictines were put in possession of the old cathedrals at Durham and Rochester, and of the new cathedral at Norwich; but, on the other hand, Wells and Exeter reverted to the system of secular canons, the same system was introduced into the new cathedrals at Lincoln and Salisbury, and the chapter at York was re-organised on the same plan. Of the two new Sees at Carlisle and Ely, the church of the former belonged to Austin Canons, and of the latter to the Benedictines, who on the whole were losers rather than gainers by the changes wrought at the Conquest. When the writer gives "boredom" as the equivalent of *accidia* she is reading a twentieth-century idea into the history of the twelfth century. *Accidia* was regarded as one of the seven deadly sins; its true modern equivalent is "sloth." Archbishop Peckham, in his Constitutions of 1281, defines it as "a loathing of spiritual good, insomuch that a man delighted not in God nor Divine praises, and it is attended with laziness, cowardice, despair, and the like."[1] St. Jerome found it in monasteries, St. Aldhelm warned the nuns of Barking against it, and it is not unknown to-day in universities. St. Aldhelm's remedy was *Pervigil constantia mentis*.[2] Readers of modern theological literature will be familiar with the essay on *Accidie* in the Bishop of Oxford's *Spirit of Discipline*. The book is really one of considerable value, because it clothes with a good deal of living interest the story of the social conditions of a period which is too often treated in a dry and uninteresting fashion. It is all the more to be regretted, therefore, that the modern dislike of footnotes is carried to excess. Granted that information should not be given in a footnote, there can be no real objection to references to original authorities. There are hardly any such references here, with the result that a book which might be of very great value to teachers and students of the period, if references were given to the sources of information which are so freely used, falls spent from the hand as soon as it is read. It is a book of light, but not of leading; there is an abundance of original

[1] Johnson's *English Canons*, ii. 280. [2] Ed. Giles, p. 309

authorities on the period which are easily accessible, which the writer has explored, and has put to excellent use, and complaint may fairly be made that guidance which would have been most helpful is withheld. There is a full chronological table and a well-arranged index. There is also an useful series of illustrations, in which is contained a representation of the beautiful candlestick made at Gloucester in the time of Abbot Serlo.

THE ENGLISH CHURCH from the Accession of Charles I. to the Death of Anne. By W. H. HUTTON. London: MACMILLAN & Co. 1903.

THIS is one of the volumes in the series on English Church History, commenced under the editorship of the late Dean of Winchester. The volumes are written by different authors, and it is most unfortunate that the volume which deals with the reign of Queen Elizabeth and James I. has been delayed, so that this volume appears before it, with the result that a knowledge of the principles and immediate results of the Elizabethan settlement has to be assumed. This is the more unfortunate as the Elizabethan period is one which is generally very much misunderstood, and also one on which much new light has been thrown in recent years, so that it would have been a real advantage to have possessed a trustworthy history of that period before entering on the age of the Stuarts. Still, the present volume must be taken as it stands, and it is plain that the writer has brought to his work a full and accurate knowledge of his subject, which he has set out on a plan that was well designed and is well executed. The least satisfactory part of the book is without doubt the account of church life between the death of Charles I. and the accession of his son, and this is just the portion of the period with regard to which many people will turn to the book for information. In the first twenty years of the period the central figure is Archbishop Laud. The age of Elizabeth had been a time of genius, but this had spent itself, and with the exception of Andrews and Laud there were no men of real spiritual power among the bishops during the first forty years of the seventeenth century. But for the very ablest men the position would have been a difficult one. Calvinism was still a power in England, and it was essentially incompatible with episcopal government. On the secular side the unwise meddling with commerce by James I. had alienated the trading classes. And just in proportion as the Church and the Crown drew together for mutual support, so did the forces of Calvinism and disaffection among the trading classes draw together in opposition, till the Church and Crown were overwhelmed in a common destruction. The course of events during this period is very well and fairly described. With regard to church life during the period of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, it is likely that the influence of the

Church was much stronger everywhere except in London and the neighbouring counties than is commonly supposed. Certainly it ran in hidden channels. Presbyterianism had annexed the parochial system, Independency was powerful in the army, the sectaries stirred up the forces of ignorance, and by the combined action of these powers any outward manifestation of churchmanship was at once suppressed. But it was alive. It is likely that the wardens' accounts of the period would show, in very many places, that though there was outward compliance with the commands of those who were in power, the parochial authorities kept as near to the old condition of things as they dared. At St. Thomas the Martyr, Bristol, £31 was collected in 1633 towards beautifying the church, among the results being a coat of royal arms still in existence, and painting the figure of St. Thomas. In 1638 rails were placed round the Communion table; in October, 1641, the crucifix was taken down, no doubt in consequence of the order of the House of Commons in the preceding August for the removal of pictures, crosses and figures within churches and without. In 1644–5 the old Communion table board was sold, and a new one bought. So far there was compliance, under obvious compulsion, but subsequent entries nearly all show a desire to return to the system of the Church. In 1647–8 a new table was procured, on the painting and gilding of which a sum of £1 10s. was spent. In 1650 there was ringing for the Battle of Dunbar, *by order of Mr. Mayor*. In 1655 there was ringing on November 5th and St. Thomas Day. In 1657 there was ringing at the proclamation of the Lord Protector—an obvious necessity. On October 5th the Mayor, in virtue of Acts of Parliament that sums should be assessed on all the city parishes in support of ministers of religion, assessed a sum of £120 on St. Thomas parish for this purpose. On November 23rd a sum of 4s. 3d. was paid for the "Conformation of Mr. Grinfield," who was, no doubt, the minister appointed; soon after 1s. 6d. is paid for "a horse for Mr. Grinfield," and as nothing more is heard of him it is to be presumed that the animal carried him away. It is remarkable that the only compulsory rate ever made in Bristol for the support of ministers of religion was made under the Protectorate. In June, 1658, there was ringing when Richard Cromwell visited the city, and in September when he was proclaimed Protector—he was at any rate better than his father. On Easter Monday, 1658, there was "chosen by the whole vestry then present for preaching (as a lecturer) in this parish, Mr. Humphery Brint". on the same feast day in 1659 the vestrymen "made choice of Mr. Humphery Brint to be minister of this parish of St. Thomas"; there was no election of minister or lecturer at the meeting on Easter Monday, 1660, but on October 30th in that year Humphrey Brent was instituted to the vicarage of Bedminster with its chapels of St. Mary Redcliff, St. Thomas the Martyr, and Abbot's Leigh. He seems to have been a son of

Jacob Brent, who became vicar of Temple in 1642. It is clear that a vestry which painted and gilded the "Table" in its parish church in 1647-8, which rung the bells on November 5th and December 21st in 1655, which very speedily got rid of the minister appointed in 1657, and elected a son of the vicar of the adjoining parish as its lecturer in 1658 and 1659 had no very strong affection for the ecclesiastical system of the Commonwealth. And it is likely enough that the wardens' accounts of most of the parishes in England, where they are extant, would bear witness to the same feeling; the Puritanism which had obtained control of the government by violence, and maintained it by force, was not in accordance with the mind of the people. When Mr. Hutton tells us that the places of the dispossessed clergy were filled by men who, for the most part, had but inadequate theological teaching, the statement is very likely true in the terms in which it is put; no doubt Puritanism could not supply efficient teachers for all the parishes in England. But it had its learned divines. There were 3,425 matriculations at Oxford in the period 1650–9, as against 4,282 in 1630–9, and 4,159 in 1660–9; no very heavy balance against the time of Puritan rule. But it would not be true to say that the Puritans desired, or depended upon, an unlearned ministry; a large part of the endowments of Broadmead Chapel at Bristol was given by Edward Terrell in 1679, some years before the persecution of the Baptists ceased, "for the use and subsistence of a holy learned man, well skilled in the tongues, to wit Greek and Hebrew, and should profess and practise the truth of believers' baptism, as a pastor and teacher to the congregation aforesaid." But it may be truly said that the story of a very difficult period of English history is well and clearly and impartially told; there is a full list of authorities at the end of each chapter, and a short index. The map of English dioceses serves to show the extraordinary difficulties under which church work was carried on. The Diocese of Lincoln still reached from Thames to Humber, except where a few miles of Northamptonshire cut across it near Peterborough; the Diocese of Chester included the Lake Country on the north, and extended to within a few miles of York; that of Bristol included Dorset; Norwich was the See for the whole of Norfolk and Suffolk, and Exeter for Devon and Cornwall. The additional bishoprics provided by Henry VIII. had not done all the good that might have been looked for, because the dioceses were so ill-arranged.

JOHN BELLOWS: LETTERS AND MEMOIR. Edited by his Wife. London: KEGAN, PAUL & Co. 1904.

WE have already in our *Transactions* an "In Memoriam" notice of Mr Bellows, written by one who knew him well, which tells us what manner of man he was—of a direct and straightforward character moved by a

touch of genius. The book shows us the working of his character in action. As it is largely made up of letters, it follows that the account is most full for those parts of his life with regard to which the largest number of his letters have been preserved; it also follows that the portions of his life which were spent outside Gloucester are much more fully illustrated than those which were spent at home. Fully one-third of the book is occupied with an account of a visit to Russia extending from October, 1892, to April, 1893, and five-sixths of the book are occupied with the last fifteen years of his life. Probably he is best known outside Gloucester by his French Dictionary, which is still among the most useful small word-books ever printed. It seems strange that the idea of the book should have been suggested by the presence of the Norse sailors whom the timber trade had brought to Gloucester. But the genius which suggested the plan of the book, and the quiet persistence which carried it out through seven years of hard toil and much discouragement, were thoroughly characteristic of the man. He seems to have been always interested in linguistic questions, and there is an amusing account of his difficulties in obtaining good Welsh translations of a paper on the Home Rule question; a Carmarthen friend skilled in dictionary-making had translated it into Welsh which an Aberystwyth friend said was bad Welsh, giving a translation of his own. When both were sent to Bangor they were stigmatised as being both alike bad, with the result that the North Welsh were provided with pamphlets in their own tongue. A similar difficulty arose with the Gaelic of different parts of Scotland. These incidents suggested the working out of a linguistic map of Great Britain. The latter part of the book shows Mr. Bellows engaged in public work in many places. Apart from the journey to Russia already mentioned, which was undertaken on behalf of the Stundists, he visited the country again on behalf of the Doukhobors in 1889, and took a leading part in their removal to Canada; during these visits he more than once met Count Tolstoi. In the summer of 1891 he paid a visit to the United States, on which occasion the degree of Master of Arts in Harvard University was conferred upon him in recognition of his French Dictionary and his work in connection with Roman Remains; he also met Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, with whom he had corresponded since 1867. Mr. Bellows was also a member of a deputation from the Society of Friends to the President of the Peace Conference at the Hague in 1899, and to his Majesty King Edward VII. after his accession in March, 1901. Several letters and notes bearing on archæological matters are included in the volume, for Mr. Bellows was keenly interested in such things, especially so far as they concerned the Roman occupation of Britain; though there may not be much permanent value to others in these things, they serve to testify to his quickness of observation and the wide range of his interests.

In 1902 he wrote a letter to the sergeant in charge of the Ordnance Survey at Gloucester with regard to the *Via Julia*, in which he accepted the title as belonging to some Roman road; in truth, however, it is quite a modern name, and there is no evidence at all that it was in use before the departure of the Romans from Britain. His powers, however, of observation, insight, and description enabled him to make the relics of the past which came within his range live in the present in a very vivid way, in proportion as his sympathy enabled him to throw himself back into the past and to enter into the thoughts and conditions of life of those who lived long ago. To those who knew him the book will revive pleasant memories of a genial and sympathetic friend; to those who never met him it will be a revelation of the workings of a bright and many-sided mind which evidently possessed a singular power of throwing fresh light even on topics which seemed to be quite smoothed down and dulled by familiarity. So it is that with regard to his archæological work he will be remembered for good not so much by what he wrote as by his quickening influence on those around him. In that respect he seems to have been much like the late Bishop Clifford, of Clifton. Outwardly there was a world of difference between the two men, but both seem to have had the same power of realising the inner meaning of some relic of bygone days, of clothing it with living interest, and of making its nature and purpose clear to those whom they addressed. We would gladly have been told more about his public work and influence in the city and county, but the plan of the book seems to exclude this. There are two portraits of Mr. Bellows and some pictures of houses which are connected with his life; there is also a very interesting reproduction of a portion of the French Dictionary, which testifies to the marvellous amount of patient toil which must have been expended upon it. There is a short but sufficient index.

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH AND STATE IN NORWAY from the Tenth to the Sixteenth Century. By THOMAS B. WILLSON CONSTABLE. 1903.

THIS may seem to be rather a far-off subject, but really it is a very interesting one to all who care for the history of the English Church, because the Church of Norway is that one among the national churches of Europe which owes its origin to the Church of England, and it is likely that the Scandinavian churches are at the present time more nearly akin to the Church of England than those of any of the other European nations which accepted the Reformation in any of its varied forms. It is quite true that about the middle of the tenth century missionaries went from

Bremen to the district round the Christiania Fjord, but they do not seem to have founded permanent settlements; certainly they did not plant any organised Christian church. The early history of Norwegian Christianity in its missionary state under Haakon, foster-son of our King Athelstan, and the two Kings Olaf is fairly well known amongst us; but from the day when Harold Hardrada fell at Stamford Bridge little interest has been taken in Norway, yet there is very much even in later times that is interesting to Englishmen. Whether Sigefrid, the Norwegian bishop whom William of Malmesbury mentions among the monks of Glastonbury who were bishops in divers places during the time of King Edgar, had been connected with King Haakon we cannot tell; certainly both Olaf Tryggevesson and Saint Olaf took their missionary bishops and priests from England, no doubt partly because so many of the Christians in England were of Scandinavian parentage. When monasteries were founded in Norway their inmates seem to have come from England. The Benedictine minster on the Island of Selje, near Stadt, the holy island of Norway, was dedicated to St. Alban. The first Cistercian minster at Lyse, south of Bergen, was colonised from Fountains, and soon afterwards other monks of the same order from Lincolnshire founded a monastery at Hovedö, in the Christiania Fjord. The cathedral at Stavanger, with its Norman work, is dedicated to St. Swithin, and its first bishop came from Winchester; while the beautiful metropolitan church at Nidaros or Trondhjem probably owes both its dedication of Christ Church and the octagon at the east end in which the relics of St. Olaf were placed to Canterbury, the latter being an imitation of Becket's crown which was built in 1184. The choir and octagon at Nidaros were built between 1189 and 1205, probably under English influence; certainly the carving is as good as anything that can be seen at Wells or Salisbury. The Church of Norway followed the Old English rather than the Roman use, and to this day the Englishman in Norway who worships at High Mass in the parish church on a Sunday morning will find that the Epistle and Gospel in his English Prayer Book are those which are used. If there is any difference, it is commonly the case that the Norse Service keeps to the old order of the Sarum use, from which the modern English book has deviated. Though Norway drew her Christianity from England, no attempt was made by English archbishops to exercise jurisdiction over the daughter Church, and it was not till the middle of the twelfth century that Norway had an archbishop of her own. In 1152 Cardinal Nicholas Breakspeare, the only Englishman who ever became pope, came to Norway and made Nidaros an Archiepiscopal See with jurisdiction over Norway, Iceland, Greenland, the Orkneys, and Sodor and Man; also the choice of bishop was transferred from the king to the cathedral chapters, and the right of succession of illegitimate sons of the king was checked by the introduction of the Ceremony of Coronation.

From a secular point of view the history of Norway from this time forward was a miserable one of constant divisions and quarrels over the sovereignty, till at last in 1380 the crowns of Norway and Denmark were once more united. The disastrous effects of this union were thus stated by a sixteenth-century Norseman: "From the day when Norway fell under Denmark it lost the strength and power of its manhood, and became old and grey-headed, and a burden to itself." Thus the Reformation found it. As in other national churches, the constant meddling of the Roman Court had taken all heart out of the native episcopate, and the Danish domination had crushed the spirit of national independence. The country in Church and State lay at the feet of the spoiler, and it was shamefully plundered. The Archbishop of Nidaros fled from the country in 1537, and his suffragans, with the exception of the Bishop of Hamar, who was carried away to Denmark, were of no sterner stuff. When they passed away their places were taken by Lutheran superintendents, the earliest of whom was set apart for his work by Bugenhaugen. There was no need for this, since Hans Reff, Bishop of Oslo, survived till 1545. The revenues of the bishoprics were taken into the hands of the king, and Norway as an independent kingdom ceased to exist. It does not seem that there was any desire for the Reformation. The Church was popular and was doing its work well, and it is likely that the religion of the people remained very much what it had been. There is still over the chancel arch of a little country church a crucifix before which miracles of healing were worked, and till well within living memory the walls of the church were hung with crutches and other votive offerings which had been left behind by those who had been helped. It is true that in Mr. Willson's book the Church of Norway is more prominent than the State—in truth, the two lives were so closely intertwined that what concerned the one concerned the other—but the constant quarrels before 1380, and the Danish servitude afterwards, render the secular side of the history very unattractive. Mr. Willson has written a thoroughly good book on a subject which, so far as England is concerned, has never been adequately dealt with, and he deserves the thanks of all—and happily they are now not a few—to whom Norway is a land of living and very real interest. We may be sorry as we pass through the Museum at Bergen to see so many altar-pieces and other things of ecclesiastical interest which have been removed from the places to which they rightly belong, but no Englishman can look on the figures of St Thomas of Canterbury, St Edmund, or St Sunniva, the Irish princess who with her companions entrusted herself to the sea and was drifted to the mouth of the Nordfjord, without feeling that he is in a land which is very closely linked with his own land, and among a people whose religion is near akin to his own. There are some well-chosen and well-executed pictures, also there is a short but useful bibliography and a good index

ROMAN BRITAIN. By EDWARD CONYBEARE. London: SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE. 1903.

THE writer states that his object has been "to give a readable sketch of the historical growth and decay of Roman influence in Britain, illustrated by the archæology of the period, rather than a mainly archæological treatise with a bare outline of the history." It is not fair to find fault with an author because he did not cast his work in another mould, but it would be true to say that this book might be more rightly called "The Romans in Britain," and it certainly does not give so good an account of the condition of the country itself during the Roman occupation, or of the results of that occupation, as did the little book by Prebendary Scarth which preceded it. The first quarter of the book is occupied with an account of the pre-Roman inhabitants of the island from the Palæolithic period onwards, and on page 85 we reach the invasion of Julius Cæsar. From that point onward the writer gives a really good account of the work of the Romans, both military and civil, until their final evacuation of Britain, the last twenty-five pages being devoted to the consideration of some of the results of the Roman occupation. A good deal of general information is of course given with regard to the effect of the Roman occupation on the population of the island, or on the face of the country, but it must be picked out piecemeal, and it would not be easy to gather a connected idea of the method of any matter of administration, or of the condition of any particular part of the island, from the history as it is told. "A generation passeth away, and a generation cometh; but the earth abideth for ever." The story of the coming, the stay, and the passing of the Romans is thoroughly well told, but the book gives no adequate account of the mark which they left on the Britain which abideth to-day, as ever of old.

Mary Ellen Bagnall-Oakeley.

# In Memoriam.

## ELLEN MARY BAGNALL-OAKELEY.

The news of the death of Mrs. Bagnall-Oakeley, of "Tre-cefn," Monmouth, came as a painful shock to the members of our Society, to whom her presence has long been so familiar and welcome a feature of its meetings, and who have so highly appreciated her friendship, wide knowledge, and ever-ready practical helpfulness.

After her and her husband's removal from Newland, Coleford, to their beautiful new home overlooking Monmouth and its lovely valley, it was hoped by her numerous friends that, in spite of advancing age, she might be spared for many years to shed her bright influence and continue to fill her wide sphere of active usefulness amongst all who came within its range. For the last year or two, however, it was manifest to her family and personal friends that her physical powers were failing, and, though her brave, energetic and unselfish spirit was still characteristically manifested, she passed away on May 26th, 1904, from heart failure in her seventy-second year, leaving many sorrowing hearts, beyond the bounds of her family, the poorer for the loss of such a true friend and so stimulating an example of wise and practically fruitful enthusiasm.

Though Mrs. Bagnall-Oakeley's actual membership in our Society only dates from 1886, her contributions to its *Transactions*, beginning with the sixth volume, 1881–2, bear striking testimony to the variety of her acquirements, the activity of her pen, and her constant and zealous efforts in the interest of the archæology of our county. Whilst she devoted especial attention to the subjects of effigies, costume and embroidery, as the following list of papers testifies, and was an acknowledged authority on these matters, she was also no mean practical expert in numismatics—she was a member of the Numismatic Society from 1881 to 1900—and her admirable

power of rapid drawing, shared too by her husband, greatly added not only to her own interest in travel, but to the charm of her papers and addresses, which were often beautifully illustrated. To those who have had the privilege of inspecting the noble series of volumes of sketches by herself and Mr. Bagnall-Oakeley, accumulated during many years of unflagging industry and extensive travel, the activity, facility, and talent of her artistic work has long seemed marvellous.

1. "On Roman Coins found in the Forest of Dean."
2. "On some Sculptured Effigies of Ecclesiastics."
3. "On Ancient Church Embroidery in Gloucestershire."
4. "On Sanctuary Knockers."
5. "On the Monumental Effigies of the Family of Berkeley."
6. "On the Ancient Sculptures in the South Porch of Malmesbury Church."
7. "On Ladies' Costume in the Middle Ages."
8. "On some Pre-Norman Sculptured Slabs at Daglingworth Church."
9. "On the Dress of Civilians in the Middle Ages."
10. "Notes on a Great Hoard of Roman Coins found at Bishops' Wood, 1895."
11. "On Grosmont Castle."
12. "On Skenfrith Castle and Church."
13. "On Pembridge Castle."
14. "On Monmouth Castle."
15. "On Roman Monmouth."

To the foregoing may be added the by no means light task of editing two "Lists of Monumental Effigies in Bristol and Gloucestershire," as well as the following papers in the *Proceedings of the Clifton Antiquarian Club* between 1887 and 1895:—

1. "Notes on Stitches Employed in the Embroidery of Copes."
2. "Notes on the Round Towers of Europe."
3. "Early Christian Settlements in Ireland."
4. "A Week in the Aran Islands."

Also "An Account of some of the Rude Stone Monuments and Ancient Burial Mounds of Monmouthshire" for the Monmouthshire and Caerleon Antiquarian Association, of which she was a member.

But beyond and above all those rare qualities of head and hand which made her what she was as an archæologist and quickened her

presentation of the past, her breadth of view, enthusiasm, sympathy, warmth and largeness of heart, and cheery and cordial manner invested her with a very special and personal charm, and her sunny presence always seemed to radiate around her a brightness and stimulating energy which were helpfully contagious. She will, indeed, be long and deeply and truly missed from our ranks, and, since her failing health rendered it imprudent for her to encounter the fatigue of long days in the open air whilst visiting objects of archæological interest, there are few, if any, but must have felt that there was a something lacking—a special influence withdrawn which nothing could replace.

It is not for us to touch on the sanctities of home, but our thoughts can scarcely fail to dwell peacefully and thankfully on the memory of fifty years of a loving and perfect union, both in heart and pursuit, which presented an ideal and pattern of domestic happiness—"Reflecting Heaven above, enriching Earth below."

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